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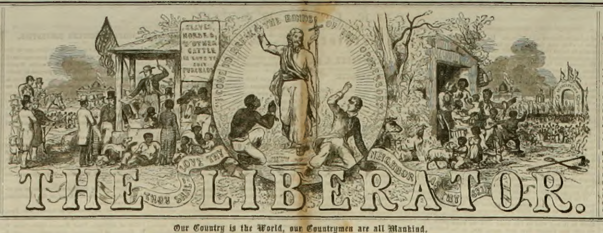

PRES. LINCOLN ON NEGRO SUFFRAGE.

The following is an extract from an unpublished letter from the late President Lincoln, addressed to Gen. Wadsworth, taking strong ground in favor of universal suffrage:—

"You desire to know, in the event of our complete success in the field, the same being followed by a loyal and cheerful submission of the South, if universal amnesty should not be accompanied by universal suffrage.

Now, since you know my private inclinations as to what terms should be granted to the South, in the contingency mentioned, I will here add, that if our success should thus be realized, followed by such desired results, I can't see—if universal amnesty is granted—how, under the circumstances, I can avoid exacting in return universal suffrage, or, at least, suffrage on the basis of intelligence and military service.

How to better the condition of the colored race has long been a study which has attracted my serious and careful attention; hence I think I am clear and decided as to what course I shall pursue in the premises, regarding it as a religious duty, as the nation's guardian of these people who have so heroically vindicated their manhood on the battle-field, where, in assisting to save the life of the republic, they have demonstrated in blood their right to the ballot, which is but the humane protection of the flag they have so fearlessly defended."

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

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Refuge of Oppression.

THE "BLUNDER OF EMANCIPATION."

[Correspondence of the Journal of Commerce.]

Richmond, Va., Nov. 13, 1865.

The negro is still the principal theme of every pen. What an amazing amount of ink the black subject has absorbed! Contraband he certainly is not in the newspapers, nor in our common conversation. We talk about him more than about anybody else; he is scarcely ever slighted in the intercourse of any circle.

He, therefore, who sits down to note the progress of affairs for the press, must pay his respects to the African. His virtues and his follies are interwoven with the daily cares of domestic life. On the farm, or on the highway, in the country; on the streets, lanes and alleys of the city; on the railroad, on the steamboat, on all the lines of travel, his presence is seen for annoyance or usefulness, his absence is lamented as the cause of endless and diversified derangement; his merits or demerits, his childishness and changefulness, his roguishness and laziness, his impudence and arrogance, or his deference and dutifulness, his affection and attachment, are fruitful of never-ceasing conversation, illustrated by the greatest variety of anecdotes, with which each speaker seems to be fully supplied.

The fact is, the white folks are in a transition state, and so are the negroes. They may truly say, "See how we apples swim!"

"Does Mr. Smith live here now?" inquires a gentleman looking for an old friend. "No, sir," replies a pert darkey standing at the door. "Who occupies the house, then?" "I do, sir," answers the colored gentleman, with indescribable dignity. Mr. Smith may be an aristocrat, with the purest patrician blood of the old Virginia stock flowing in his veins, and this gentleman in black may be the continuation of one of the little "niggers" that used to mind his cows on a James River plantation, who used to call him "Marster," and look at him as he rode by on his fine horse with some reverence, but now the tables are turned: "the bottom rail is on top."

Two respectable and inoffensive gentlemen are quietly walking along the sidewalk. They meet two black men that are engaged in an altercation, or pretend to be, with a negro boy who is riding on the street. Addressing him, they say, "You are an old Virginia rebel; yes, you are an old Virginia rebel." The words, enforced with a disgusting oath, are meant for the ears of the white men, and meant to be a taunt and an insult; but the speakers have guns and liberty; they are permitted to go on their way triumphing in their power, and the other citizens smother their rage and pass along.

There are brighter sides to the picture. There are negroes whom not even freedom has demoralized. They are gentlemen and ladies still. The graceful bow or lowly courtesy proclaim the old gentility, and their humble, respectable demeanor appears in every word and action.

The winds are chill. Cold, imperious winter is at hand. The foolish children—alas! they know no better—they wander from place to place. The rolling stones have gathered no moss. Spring and summer have been given to the carnival of joy, to realizing the sweets of liberation, light work and no gathering of fruits and stores. The prospect is a sad one.

The benevolence that blundered so into this sudden stroke of emancipation, instead of choosing that gradual removal of bondage which wisdom dictated, will be felt in the pinch of December's snows, and the long, long season of slush and cold which lingers with us until the month of May, when the stores of the past harvest sink low in the garners of those who have them, and the next one is still far in the distance.

Will those who have shouted over his disenthralment care for the negro then? They have the means, the fruit, it may be, of his labor. We have not. The armies swept away our horses, freedom removed our servants, our money—but every one knows where that is; we know where it is not.

There are benevolent persons here from the North, who are making arrangements to meet the wants of the approaching inclement season. They are providing shoes, clothing, medicines, and bread. They will to some extent encourage idleness, distribute to rogues and impostors, and overlook many real cases of suffering; but if they are prudent and wise, and willing to listen to a word of counsel and receive a hand of cooperation from some others who love the negro as well as they, they will do much good, and receive the benedictions of all good men.

HANOVER.

THE FREEDMEN.

We are induced to believe that a portion of the people of the Northern States of this country—we will not dignify such a collection by terming it a party—in their ignorance, or malice, or both, have taken, and are still taking, measures to increase the discontent of that unfortunate race in the Southern States so recently endowed with freedom; to inflame their passions, and thereby prevent any solution of the social and political question now pending, but one that is terrible to contemplate. * *

The first and most important step now to be taken by the freedmen of the South is to forget as much as possible of the past, and more especially that more recent period wherein their minds were filled with glowing visions of prosperity, engendered by men either malicious or ignorant. They must forget the falsehoods that have been told them, and look the future honestly in the face. They must know that those who have thus beguiled them are not their friends, and that for aid, counsel, and practical friendship, they must look to those among whom they were born, and in community with whom they wish to live. It is terrible to contemplate the condition of the African race of this country in the future, unless their relations are clear and friendly with the Southern people. There can be no middle ground to be assumed. They must be friends with the white population of the South, or they are their enemies, and as such will and must be treated. It is a great pity that these unfortunate creatures cannot realize such a palpable fact. The conservative and sensible portion of the Northern people owe it to themselves to prevent any further mischief emanating from the opposite view. Humanity requires that there shall be no further deception practised upon these simple-minded beings. If those who have heretofore deceived the freedmen have done it through ignorance, they should inform themselves of facts; if through malice and vindictive motives, they should be suppressed.

There can be no disguising the fact that here is idleness, carelessness, and a disregard for the future among the recently liberated slaves of the South. These characteristics are integrated with their nature—they are defects of race. That in addition thereto there is discontent, insubordination, insolence, and in several instances, violence, is clearly attributable to the exaltation, the infatuation, produced in the minds of the freedmen by bad and designing men, for occult purposes. We believe the intelligent officers of the Freedmen's Bureau have endeavored to dispel the erroneous impressions thus made upon the minds of the negroes, but the latter are loth to credit the assertions of these officers, for, by so doing, they must surrender all their brilliant aspirations—their visions of ease and prosperity. We think this has added to their discontent, for they regard those bright days which have been promised them as so many vested rights, as actual property, of which they are to be deprived. While the officers are discharging their duty in toppling some of these air-castles over, the mischief-makers are still at work secretly, and, we fear, effectually.

The South desires, nay, needs, the labor of these people, if they can have it assured to them under proper legislation. Association has made them familiar with this kind of labor, and for certain purposes they would prefer it, if the freedmen could be made to comprehend their own interests. But if the continued agitation of social and political questions is to attend the existence of this race among us—if we are to live in a state of chronic disorder, of chaotic disorganization, and see, constantly, around and amongst us, the elements of destruction ready for the use of fanaticism, instead of the peace and quiet we demand—if we are to endure a constant threat of violence, unless new and extraordinary privileges are accorded, we risk but little in predicting the end. We can only bid these white breeders of mischief to beware, or the recoil will be dangerous to them.—*Richmond Whig.*

Selections.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTY OF A REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

LETTER FROM ROBERT DALE OWEN.

To the Editors of the N. Y. Evening Post:

Now that we nearly approach the meeting of a Congress before whom will come questions of graver import and more lasting results than any that ever awaited the assembling of a national legislature in our country, suffer me, through your columns, briefly to invite the attention of the members elect and of the public to a clause in the Constitution to which recent events have given an unlooked-for importance; and to a practical recommendation which, if brought forward by the proper men in the proper way, will, I think, command two thirds of the votes in either House.

A word or two of preface touching the President and his recent policy.

Many good men think that he has placed too much confidence in the Southern ex-rebels; that he has pushed the Christian principles of forgiveness and conciliation beyond their prudent limits; and that he has been expecting and facilitating the political rehabilitation of the late insurgent States at a day too early to consist with the public safety and with the future domestic tranquillity of the Republic.

That may be, and the President himself may, to-day, perhaps, admit it. But let us not, therefore, too hastily conclude that any harm has been done. It is seldom unwise to tender the olive branch, even to the unworthy. After a great national outbreak, clemency should first be tried; nor, in practice, can we continue through a long term to treat whole communities as culprits.

The South, wedded to her idols, has not responded to the magnanimous overtures of the President. Such, I doubt not, will be the judgment of Congress. Upon that judgment, I believe Congress will act; and, if it does, no impediment, I feel assured, will be thrown in its way by our Chief Magistrate.

Andrew Johnson's past career is, in many respects, a noble one; and I do not believe he will falsify it. I call to mind that, at Nashville, a little more than a year ago, he declared to a large assemblage of negroes that "loyal men, whether white or black, shall alone control the destinies of Tennessee"; and I remember when from the vast crowd of freedmen there came a voice claiming him as their Moses to lead them to the promised land, he replied: "Humble and unworthy as I am, if no other and better shall be found, I will indeed be your Moses, and lead you through the Red Sea of war and bondage to a fairer future of liberty and peace."

Conversing, a few weeks since, with an earnest thinker and a distinguished member of last Congress, Henry Winter Davis of Maryland, that gentleman expressed in strong terms his conviction that the national safety is jeoparded if the Constitutional guaranty touching a republican form of government remain a dead letter. I wish that Mr. Davis were a member of the Congress about to convene, there to urge, as he did on the occasion referred to, his reasons for such an opinion. It is, beyond doubt, a correct one. We do well to look narrowly at this provision and its legitimate results.

It is the people of the whole nation through their national government, not the people of any one State through their convention or their State legislature, who have the right, and upon whom is imposed the duty, to see that State governments are, and remain, republican in form. (Art. IV., Sec. 4.) And the whole people, not the people of a single State, are by the Constitution made the judges of what is a republican form of government.

If a State of the Union were to proclaim a monarchy, Congress would have the right to reject her representatives. But a republican form of government may be subverted by indirection as effectually as by proclamation of a monarchy. A State has a right, within certain limits, to decree the qualifications of her voters. But any qualification may be pushed beyond the point of republicanism. And when this happens, it devolves upon the national government to enforce the Constitutional guaranty.

A State, if it see fit, may require a property qualification; as that a voter shall be a tax-payer or a householder; but if it push the principle so far as to require that he shall possess a hundred thousand dollars, then large masses are disfranchised, and the republican form of government is violated thereby.

A State, if it see fit, may require a literary qualification, as that a voter shall be able to read the Constitution of his country; but if it push the principle so far as to require that he shall understand Sanscrit or read Homer in the original Greek, then large masses are disfranchised, and the republican form of government is violated thereby.

A State, if it see fit, may require a qualification of birth, as that a foreigner shall have been a three-year resident before he is entitled to vote; but if it should push this principle so far as to disfranchise all persons of foreign birth and their descendants, during lifetime, then large masses would be excluded, and the republican form of government would be violated thereby.

So, also, if a State disfranchise, because of race, the fiftieth part of her population, her action may violate justice, yet fall short of working a substantial change in her form of government. (*De minimis non curat lex.*) But if the number excluded by this qualification of race from participation in self-government amount to one third or one half or two thirds of her entire population, then large masses are disfranchised, and the republican form of government is essentially violated thereby.

If such disfranchisement be temporary, then it amounts to a temporary suspension of the republican form.

That the republican form, in the hitherto received American sense of the term, was not violated by the exclusion from suffrage of persons not free and of "Indians not taxed," is inferable from the Constitutional provision on that subject (Art. I, sec. 2), but as to native-born free citizens, of whatever race or color, owing allegiance, and paying taxes to the government, the Constitution, from its first article to its last, discriminates not at all between them. We have the same Constitutional right, and no more, to disfranchise one class or race of these as another. A State that disfranchises large masses of them, substitutes the oligarchical form for the republican. And Congress neglects a Constitutional duty if it permits this.

The right to check a State which should habitually violate, or temporarily suspend, a republican form of government, was wisely placed in the nation's hands; for such violation or suspension endangers the national unity—imperils domestic peace. Slavery, though tolerated by the Constitution, did substantially violate the republican form, and the late rebellion was the ultimate result.

At the present juncture, when the danger is that this Constitutional provision regarding a republican form of government may be violated in the persons of four millions of native-born citizens of African descent, an additional important consideration presents itself. Loyalty is scarce in the South, and it is precisely the most loyal portion of the Southern people who run the risk of disfranchisement. We may safely calculate upon the vote of the negro population, in mass, being cast for national representatives who will vote with us on all great national questions: as against repudiation of our debt or assumption of the rebel debt. They will sustain us on such questions, not because they have financial knowledge or political experience, but because they have sagacious instincts. They understand that their safety depends on voting with their friends; and they will do it.

There are two things, then, to be considered in this matter: our duty and our interest. They happen to coincide. God has decreed that if we neglect our Constitutional duty, we suffer our political allies to be disfranchised; in other words, we permit to be deprived of suffrage, to the number of four millions, the friends of loyalty and the Union.

That is one side of the question. The other relates to expediency and public opinion.

Prejudice, when it pervades large masses of a population, ought to be recognized as a fact, and treated, to some extent, as a power. A wise legislator perceives its error without despising its influence. The moral world moves slowly, and it is difficult, sometimes dangerous, to overhurry its pace.

To such considerations much of the President's action is, doubtless, to be ascribed. The sun was more powerful than the wind in causing the traveller to discard his cloak. But forbearance, though an eminent duty, is often mistaken for weakness by the self-sufficient and the overbearing; and there is a large leaven of self-sufficiency and overbearance still at work in the South.

The world is not yet prepared, (witness the last four years!) literally to practise, in the conduct of national affairs, Christ's injunction, when a man smites us on cheek to turn the other also.

And as in the lives of men, so in the career of nations, there is a tide leading to fortune, which must be taken at the flood. There are certain conjunctures occurring now and then in national affairs, which, if we pass them by, return not for generations of men. We may suffer long in "shallows and in miseries," not alone for sins of commission, but more severely yet for seasons of action neglected and golden opportunities unimproved.

We shall have a majority, even of two thirds, in the Congress which is soon to convene. There will come to that Congress applications by representatives from the late insurgent States. To them we are bound to listen. But we are not bound to receive them without due time allowed for committee action and reflection. We are not bound to permit a dilution of the loyal working element in Congress, until, undiluted, it shall have done whatever is its necessary work. The four years upon which peace has now closed ought to have taught us much. They ought to have taught us that it is our bounden duty to provide not only against immediate, but against prospective dangers. They ought to have taught us the wisdom of Vattel's interpretation of the right of war, when he says (Book III., sections 44, 45): "If the safety of the State lies at stake, our precaution and foresight cannot be extended too far. Must we delay our ruin till it has become inevitable? * * An injury gives a right to provide for our future safety, by depriving the unjust aggressor of the means of injuring us."

If we allow our late enemies, by permanently shutting out four millions of negroes from votes for President and Congressmen, to obtain for themselves, the whites of the South, twice as much political influence, man for man, as we of the North possess, we are, in my judgment, leaving them, as Vattel expressed it, "the means of injuring us." If they employ these means to our injury, a second war may ensue; for we have become, in a measure, accustomed to the arbitrament of the sword, and the North will not tamely tolerate from the South in the future what she has endured in the past. For the sake of both sections, then—for the sake of permanent domestic tranquillity—let us do what is necessary for safety while our present majority gives us the power to do it.

Whatever is really demanded by prudence and foresight, we ought to do in the manner least offensive to our Southern fellow-citizens. Some offence to the haughty and turbulent portion of these we must give, and it is culpable weakness to shrink from it.

But these are generalities. Let us come to a definite proposition.

If the framers of the Constitution had anticipated such an insurrection as we have just quelled, I do not doubt that, besides giving Congress the right to determine the times, places and manner of holding elections for Congressmen, they would have given that body the further right to determine the qualifications of voters as well for Congressmen as for President. These are national offices; and I think it would have been expedient to vest in the nation—not in the separate States—the right to determine how they should be filled. I am quite sure that, in the present temper of the South, it is not safe to suffer each State to determine the qualifications of electors of Federal officers. The qualifications should be uniform in all the States, and the representatives of the nation should determine them.

I propose, therefore, that Congress, *before admitting members from the late insurgent States*, should take the initiatory step so to *amend the Constitution that the qualifications of voters for President and Vice President and for Representatives in Congress shall be determined by congressional or constitutional authority*. I think it best, to insure permanent uniformity in a matter so vital as this, that the amendment should set forth, specifically, the qualifications to be required of the electors in question, at least, in part. It should be provided that race or color shall *not* be a qualification, and *that the ability to read the Constitution shall be*.

It would be well to incorporate in the same amendment, a provision that President and Vice-President shall be voted for *directly by the people*. The intervention of electoral colleges (a provision virtually annulled by public opinion) has long been a mere dead letter incumbrance; and, as such, should be erased from the Constitution.

As to the literary qualification—the ability to read—it has in its favor at this time two recommendations: one temporary and of expediency, the other of principle and eternal. For, first, it is a compromise offered to the South on the negro-suffrage question, shutting out, for the time being, probably nineteen-twentieths of the African race; and, secondly, it is the first step in the assertion of two great principles—the one, that the accident of race shall not exclude a free citizen from self-government; and the other, that while monarchical Europe commonly selects property as a suffrage qualification, republican America substitutes for it the test of intelligence.

There are, it is true, exceptions to every rule, and, of course, there are to be found intelligent men who cannot read; but if these men have obtained such accurate political information as every voter ought to possess, they have collected it as a sailor shipwrecked on a desert island might wrest a living from the ground by cultivating it with a mason's trowel. They are almost in the benighted condition of men before the discovery of printing. They have not possessed themselves of the modern implements of knowledge. They should be required to procure these before they are admitted to exercise the solemn duty of suffrage.

We need something to remind us that it is a solemn duty. Suffrage has, of late years, and especially in our great cities, gradually come to be not only cheapened, but, in a measure, dishonored and degraded. That cannot continue and increase without endangering our very form of government. Anything which tends to elevate suffrage in the eyes of those who exercise it, tends to the perpetuity no less than to the morality of the republic.

Some will object to the amendment proposed, that it is insufficient for present purposes; being a compromise under which we should lose, for a generation of men, perhaps, the vote of a very large majority of the negro population; and that we cannot afford to lose so large a loyal vote in an emergency like the present. There is force in the objection. But in this slow-moving world, it is often the question, not what *should* be done, but what *can* be done. And the move, if it be not as great a stride as is desirable, is, emphatically, one in the right direction. We obtain a firm basis on which to build hereafter; and the evil which it fails at once to eradicate will be diminishing year by year. No generation of men will elapse before the negro, free at last to enter the school-house, will have learned to read there. The incentive, alike to illiterate blacks and whites, to make up for lost time will be powerful beyond any other, perhaps, that law can create.

I have reason to believe that such a measure will be introduced in the early days of next Congress, by one of its ablest members; and that it will find favor in the highest quarters. It is not all that, in justice, we ought to secure; it may be all that, in practice, we shall be able to obtain.

Nor, if such an amendment is incorporated in the Constitution, can it be alleged that the North seeks to impose on the South provisions as to suffrage which some Northern States are themselves unwilling to adopt. Public opinion in the North will sustain it. Nor yet will there be pretence for assertion that State rights are invaded, since the measure affects voters for Federal officers only.

The North *has* the power, by making such an amendment a condition of readmission, to secure its adoption. She will evince little prudence or foresight if she suffer that power to pass from her hands.

As to the civil rights of the negro, if Congress admit a single ex-insurgent State, without seeing to it that these are constitutionally secured, the representatives of the nation will be doing worse than to neglect their duty in guaranteeing a republican form of government; they will be making the nation an accessory to an outrage on civilization. To deny the negro the right to testify in a court of justice is an act, not of disfranchisement, but of outlawry.

States have the right to pass laws regarding vagrants and paupers. But a State has no constitutional right to incorporate in any such laws, or in any laws whatever, defining the civil rights of free persons, a provision restricting their effect to any particular race of men. A State cannot, for example, constitutionally enact a vagrant law that shall apply only to citizens of Irish descent. Such a law would be in violation of a republican form of government, to say nothing of its certain result: it would be the signal for an insurrection among the Irish all over the land.

The public desire is strong that fraternal relations between the lately warring sections of our country should be speedily reëstablished. That is well. To be reconciled to a brother is better than an altar-gift. Peace is a God-like visitor. But if she comes with her white robes sullied with injustice, brief will be her sojourn among us.

Let not our eagerness for tranquillity, then, betray us into concessions alike perilous and dishonorable. We are in danger of this. One of the wisest of modern writers on public affairs has said: "When a nation has been wearied by long strife, it will submit to be duped for the sake of peace."

I am, sir, your obedient servant,
ROBERT DALE OWEN.

New York, Nov. 22, 1865.

THE SHREW UNTAMED.

South Carolina has *not* adopted the Constitutional Amendment. What is that Amendment? It is a prohibition of slavery. South Carolina is at this moment *re-enacting* slavery. Behold the proof!

A bird has flown to our office with a copy of the new Carolinian code prepared for the government of the free blacks—a pamphlet which, as yet, is a literary rarity in the North. This code, at the last advices, had passed to a second reading, and was in prospect of adoption. Governor Perry describes it to the President of the United States as "a wise, just, and humane system of laws for the government and protection of the freedmen." On the contrary, after a careful reading, we pronounce it an evasion of the Constitutional Amendment, a fraud upon the black man, a snare for the Federal Government, and an affront to the moral sense of the North. It is a slave code, changed only in name. It is as infamous for 1865 as the Fugitive Slave Law was for 1850.

"The master shall have authority to inflict moderate *chastisement*," says this new code. But is this the language of Freedom? Is it not rather the stereotyped expression of the good old time when men's backs ran blood from the cat-o'-nine? The black man is stripped naked of his rights; the white man carries a whip in his hand; and this is the reinstatement of South Carolina!

"All persons of color," it says, "who make contracts for service or labor, shall be known as *servants*, and those with whom they contract shall be known as *masters*." Why so? Free States never say this. A mechanic in the North is not called a "servant." A hired man on a farm is not called a "servant." Moreover, the codifiers have forgotten that the freemen of South Carolina have been spoken to by the New Testament, saying, "Call no man master."

"Servants," it says, "shall rise at the dawn in the morning, feed, water, and care for the animals on the farm, do the usual and needful work about the premises, prepare their meals for the day, if required by the master, and begin the farm-work by sunrise." All this is what Yankee boys do, on farms in Vermont and Maine; but would they submit to being *commanded to do it by a State Legislature*? When did the law of the land ever before undertake to say at what hour a free citizen must get up in the morning? Why, then, should not the same law prescribe how he shall clean his teeth and comb his hair?

"Servants shall not be absent from the premises without the written consent of the master." But suppose the premises are a five-acre farm, are the work-hands, after work-hours, never to overtread its edge without a pass? If in Pennsylvania or Ohio a mechanic wants to go to singing-school on a Saturday night, or to church on a Sunday morning, must he first beg his week-day employer's gracious permission? Such a law gives power to every white man in Charleston to turn his residence into a Bastile for the negro's perpetual imprisonment.

"Any person who shall deprive a master of the service of his servant by enticing him away, or harboring or detaining him * * * shall be liable to a fine not exceeding two hundred dollars, and to imprisonment or hard labor, at the discretion of the court." Does this sound like legislation for freemen? Is not this the Fugitive Slave Law over again, with all its pains and penalties?

"It is the duty of servants to be especially civil and polite to their masters." Is it, indeed! And does the sovereign State of South Carolina propose to teach etiquette and manners by public law? And will the Legislature assist in the good work by giving lessons in dancing?

"A person of color, who wishes to pursue or practice the art, trade, or business of an artisan, mechanic, or shop-keeper, or any other trade," must do what?—must he simply begin and go ahead, as every Northern free man does?—no, he must "apply by petition to the Judge of the District Court for a license!" If a Yankee should think of starting a dry-goods store, or a coffee-mill, or a bakery, or anything but a gunpowder-shop, would he begin by suing for a license? If the law should put such a barrier before a *white* man, would the law stand a week?

"During the term of service, the house occupied by any servant is the master's; and on the expiration of the term of service * * * the servant shall be immediately removed." O, Lord Brougham! Why did you ever say an Englishman's house is his castle? Not even a black man's squalid cabin is his own!

"Persons of color constitute no part of the militia of the State!" But this is an insult to every survivor of Fort Wagner. "No one of them," says the code, "shall be allowed to keep a fire-arm, sword, or other military weapon." And all this in spite of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, both of which assert the citizen's right to bear arms.

Is there no single redeeming feature in this code of abominations? Yes, there is one! Here it is: "If there be a school, within a convenient distance, in which colored children are taught," the master shall send his young servant "to school at least six weeks in every year." Is that a gleam of humanity? Alas! the jewel quickly lost its lustre! *At the very first reading of this provision*, a member of the Convention rose and said: "I am opposed to all humbug, and I move that this clause be stricken out:" *and it was stricken out, unanimously and without debate!*

This code, from beginning to end, is "iniquity framed into a law"—an outrage upon Liberty—a revival of "chivalry"—a piece of malice aforethought against the negro—a scroll of injustice, which we hold up to the contempt of all mankind!

And this is what South Carolina means by the Constitutional Amendment.

That amendment is in two parts: the first says, slavery must be forever prohibited; the second, Congress has power to enforce this prohibition by suitable legislation. South Carolina objected to the second clause. Gov. Perry telegraphed to Washington to know whether or not the clause meant what it said. The Government replied it should mean what South Carolina desired. Wherefore, South Carolina adopted the Constitutional Amendment, *with a proviso that Congress should have nothing to say concerning the status of the blacks*. But Abraham Lincoln's Proclamation of emancipation pledged the whole power of the Federal Government to maintain inviolate the freedom which that proclamation offered to the slaves. The resolution which South Carolina now tags to the Constitutional Amendment is a device to remove the negro beyond the reach of Federal protection, and so of his *only* protection.

South Carolina, therefore, bidden to reach forth her reluctant hand to accept the Constitutional Amendment, finds it an icicle from the North, too cold for her palm, whereupon she has cast it into the fiery furnace which her new code kindles for her free negroes, and there it already melts and vanishes like a puff of steam!

Is it possible that sensible men, loving their country and its liberty, can desire the readmission of South Carolina until she is purged of her foulness? Will Congress open its doors wide enough to readmit a State that seeks to bring such a luggage of yokes and chains? Is it a bright and pleasant contemplation to look forward to ten other Slave Codes, like this Palmetto outrage, ranging themselves this winter under the shelter of the American flag? Are we basely to assent to a reconstruction by which our enemies are appointed to be tyrants over our friends? Are we to stand calm spectators of the negro lying in the dust, and the white man's foot upon his neck? Rather than readmit South Carolina into the Union with this code of reenslavement, we say let her stand in outer darkness till her Confederate gray shall turn green with mildew and fungus! As South Carolina was a radical, let her now be left to the Radicals! None but Petruchio can tame Katharine! "Bonny Kate!" We mean to kiss you yet into a sweet behavior!—*Independent.*

A MISSISSIPPI OUTRAGE.

The act which established the Freedmen's Bureau proceeded on the theory that some other than civil authority was required for the protection of the emancipated blacks. The Bureau was created to continue "during the present war of Rebellion, and for one year thereafter." The States in which its work was to be done were in insurrection, and were without any civil magistrates recognized by the Federal Government. To the Bureau, therefore, was committed the "*control*" of all subjects relating to refugees and freedmen. Among the provisions of the act, was a grant of authority to the Commissioner to set apart lands to the extent of forty acres to each male citizen, whether refugee or freedman; and it was enacted that the person to whom land was so assigned should be "*protected*" in its use and enjoyment. And, shortly after the Bureau began operations under Gen. Howard, an order from the War Department directed all commanders of the military forces of the United States to lend all needful aid to the officers of the Bureau in carrying out its purposes. In a word, the Freedmen's Bureau, though established by act of Congress, exists by an authority unknown to, and inconsistent with, the municipal law of the States, and depends for its existence, as well as for its efficacy, upon military law. It could not survive a day after civil law had been fully restored, and it could not do an act but for the military power behind it.

With this principle and these facts in view, let us look at a recent case in Mississippi. Capt. Peck, a Superintendent of the Freedmen's Bureau, was stationed at Hazlehurst, near Jackson. In the performance of his duty in his own office, he was insulted, repeatedly and outrageously, by a white citizen. After bearing with the man for some time patiently, he ordered him out of the office, and when he refused to go, ordered the guard to take him out, which they did. Thereupon, the man got a warrant from a magistrate on a charge of assault and battery, and the Sheriff, with a posse of Rebel State militia, arrested Capt. Peck and put him into jail. By order of Gen. Osterhaus, Lieut. Col. Gilson, with four companies of the 58th United States Colored Infantry, released Capt. Peck, and put the Sheriff in jail in his place. Next, Mr. Benjamin G. Humphreys, recently elected Governor, but not yet allowed to assume that office, reported the case to the President, with this comment: "The civil authority is thus defied, and put in subordination to the military." The response was the following telegram from the Secretary of War:

"Washington, Nov. 3, 1865.

To Gov. Humphreys: The President has received your telegram of October 31, and has directed Gen. Osterhaus to cause Sheriff Rades to be released from imprisonment; that Col. Gilson be relieved from command; *that there be no further military interference*; and that Gen. Osterhaus report all the facts for further instructions. Edwin M. Stanton, Sec'y of War."

If the spirit of this order is to be carried out in future cases, the Freedmen's Bureau might as well be abolished outright. It will exist hereafter only by sufferance of civil officers elected under Rebel State Governments. It is impossible to conceive a case in which it can execute an order, or be of further benefit to the negro. A Superintendent must either disregard the welfare of the freedmen, and neglect the orders of Gen. Howard wholly, or he will come under the ban of the civil authorities. If he holds a court, as he must, and arrests any white citizen for outrage on a black one, as he frequently will, the citizen has only to get a warrant from a civil magistrate, and in turn arrest the Superintendent. If the Bureau sends another officer, he will share the fate of his predecessor. Military power cannot help him, because if a commander obeys the order of the War Department and assists the officer of the Bureau, a Rebel Governor will have power to cause him to be reprimanded and relieved from duty by the President. The condition of things which made the Bureau necessary is unchanged; but if the military law which supports it is changed, and the military power which makes its existence possible is withdrawn, the Bureau must go to pieces, and the only barrier between the freedman and the hate of his old master will be broken down. As we cannot suppose the President intends to hand over the negroes just yet to the unchecked jurisdiction of a Mississippi slave code, we must presume that the facts in this case were unknown to him, and that, when they are reported in full, he will rescind his action.—*Tribune.*

HOW SOUTH CAROLINA ADOPTED THE AMENDMENT.

The adoption of the Constitutional Amendment by the legislature of South Carolina was announced last week. Full particulars of the proceedings are given by the Charleston *Courier* of the 16th Nov.

On the 13th, Governor Perry sent the following message to the legislature:—

"Executive Department,
South Carolina, November, 1865.

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives:

Gentlemen: I have the honor of communicating to you the promised notice of the Secretary of State of the United States of the proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution abolishing slavery.

In the last message which I had the honor of sending you, I gave copies of the several communications which have passed between the President and the Secretary of State and myself on this subject. You will remember that the construction to which this proposed amendment of the Federal Constitution was liable, and which made it objectionable to South Carolina, was entirely repudiated by the Secretary of State. I stated, too, in that message, that the President and Attorney-General of the United States were understood as concurring in the construction given to the second section of the amendment by the Secretary of State. I know that it will give you the greatest pleasure imaginable to do all that you can consistent with your honor and duty to the State to restore her once more to self-government and civil liberty, to peace and harmony, and to happiness and prosperity in the Union of States.

There can hardly be a doubt that this amendment will be adopted by three-fourths of the States, although you should refuse to accept it, and will become a part of the Federal Constitution. This consideration alone should lessen very much your responsibility in acceding to it, on the part of South Carolina, while it increases very much the evil and danger in rejecting it to the State.

In respect to what I have said in my last message to you, the destiny of the State is in your hands for woe or for weal, and I have an abiding confidence in your judgment and wisdom, and in your honor and patriotism.

I would remind you also of all that President Johnson has so nobly done for the Southern States, and that it is he who appeals to South Carolina in the name of God 'not to throw away all that has so far been well done and defeat the restoration of the Union,' but to be 'guided by love and wisdom from on High, and union and peace will once more reign through the land.' B. F. PERRY."

The Senate and House immediately proceeded to discuss the amendment, and in the House four sets of resolutions were introduced and rejected. Mr. Wallace then moved to refer the whole subject to the Committee on Federal Relations, with instructions to report on the reassembling of the Legislature. This was voted down, fifty-six to forty-six; and finally the House adopted, by a vote of fifty-six to forty-six, resolutions offered by Mr. Mullins, declaring the amendment "accepted, adopted and ratified."

In the meanwhile, the Senate had been engaged upon the discussion of resolutions of adoption, which were finally passed, with the following amendment offered by Carlos Tracy as an additional resolution:

Resolved, That any attempt by Congress towards legislating upon the political status of the former slaves or their civil relations would be contrary to the Constitution of the United States as it now is, or as it would be, altered by the proposed amendment; in conflict with the policy of the President, declared in his amnesty proclamation, and with the restoration of that harmony upon which depends the vital interests of the American Union.

The House proposed to strike out the additional resolution; the Senate refused; and a proposition was about to be made in the House to insist upon striking out, and to ask for a committee of conference, when it was discovered that the hour of adjournment was approaching.

The resolutions, therefore, as finally adopted, are those proposed by Mr. Mullins, to which was added the resolution of Mr. Tracy, in the words following:

Whereas, the Congress of the United States, by joint resolution, approved on the 1st day of February, A. D. 1865, proposed an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, for the ratification of the Legislatures of the several States, which amendment is in the following words, to wit:

ART. 13.—SEC. 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SEC. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Approved February 2, 1865.

Resolved, therefore, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the General Assembly of the State of South Carolina, in General Assembly met, and by the authority of the same: That the aforesaid proposed amendment of the Constitution of the United States be, and the same is hereby accepted, adopted, and ratified by this State.

Resolved, That a certified copy of the foregoing preamble and resolution be forwarded by his Excellency, the Provisional Governor, to the President of the United States, and also to the Secretary of State of the United States.

Resolved, That any attempt by Congress towards legislating upon the political status of former slaves or their civil relations, would be contrary to the Constitution of the United States as it now is, or as it would be altered by the proposed amendment; in conflict with the policy of the President, declared in the amnesty proclamation, and with the restoration of that harmony upon which depends the vital interests of the American Union.

VIEW OF AN ENGLISH ABOLITIONIST.

The opinion of an honest and intelligent outside observer is always valuable. Professor Francis W. Newman is one of the most thorough English defenders of liberty on principle. His letter below (which we take from the *Transcript*) gives his view of the position of our affairs as they were four or five weeks ago. Although some better indications have since appeared, our position is still critical, demanding constant vigilance and active exertion, both from the friends of negro rights and of human rights. It remains to be seen whether or not the South will ultimately conquer. The letter is as follows:—

LONDON, November 8, 1865.

MY DEAR FRIEND: I confess that it makes me sorrowful to write to you. I have indeed put it off on that account. In your war I was never gloomy. I did not lose heart at Fredericksburg. But I am becoming gloomy now. Nor can I get comfort from other minds. All whom I meet, that were your warm friends in the war, are more or less sad,—some direfully so, but those who were your bitter enemies think President Johnson "very judicious," and seem highly contented.

You all had the fond hope, (and in spite of Mr. Lincoln's weakness, so had I,) that this was to be your *only* civil war. You fought it with magnificent, unsparing energy, in order to give peace forever to your children. But the ghastly vision now rises over me and makes me sick, that you are doomed to follow in the bloody routine of the old world. With us it is an axiom, that kings have to be deposed and a dynasty exiled, before they cease to conspire against the constitution. Even this did not cure Louis Napoleon.

I now miserably forbode, that you will have a civil war to decide whether President or Congress is to set the policy of the Union. All is in train for it, unless the next Congress *sternly* call the President to account. Nothing is clearer, than that he has pretended to do things *experimentally* and *provisionally*, with the express aim of so entangling matters that the Congress should have no choice but to ratify all that he has done, and have no real direction of the public policy. It is just what Aberdeen or Palmerston have systematically done with the English Parliament, but would hardly dare to do in so terrible crisis as yours. The first error was in not prosecuting Buchanan in the summer of 1861. The next was in enduring Mr. Lincoln's Louisiana Constitution, and his reply to Congress that he meant to violate the Confiscation Act, if he saw it to be for the public good.

Out of President Lincoln's high-handed settlement of affairs without Congress is developed the present policy of President Johnson. The conduct of Louis Napoleon in 1849, 1850, 1851, shows what a President, elected by the *people*, and independent of the Parliament for four years, can do, if he have large patronage. He has unity of action, promptitude, continuity. Congress has factions and long debates and long vacation; and when it comes to debate, finds itself too late. Your President's course (unless violently arrested) assures to you many years of instability and alarm, and, *therefore*, many years of high expenditure and high patronage, during all which time you will become *accustomed* to the Executive forestalling and superseding the legislative. Out of this it will be almost a miracle if so vast an Executive do not (like that of old Rome) involve you in another civil war, even if the negro question were to blow over in ten or twelve years' time.

I know the name of Mr. George Stearns only for honor, as a warm-hearted abolitionist. I am the more alarmed, that he could put forward, as something satisfactory to your nation, the conversation he had with President Johnson, as I read it in the Boston *Daily Advertiser* of October 23. (Perhaps you sent it to me.) I should have expected a clear-sighted abolitionist to tell the President that his conduct tends to involve you in the *war of races* which he fancies negro suffrage will cause. Such an utterance from a President is a terrible calamity, and deserves a public and bitter protest. If he choose to say it, let him say it; but let not an abolitionist be the vehicle. A war of races can only arise from the injustice of the whites; and your President, while talking *for* justice, is resolved to secure that the whites shall be *able* to be unjust if they choose, and the negro (indeed, the whole colored race) shall be *disabled* by law from any self-defence. Surely this is the way to cause a war of races.

Your President is like the Tory cavaliers of Charles I., who insisted that though the king ought to do what was just, yet no one should have the power of *forcing* him to be just; that would be impolite, would irritate him; his *justice* must come freely! So Andrew Johnson, the *Moses* of the colored man, is doing his worst to abandon them to injustice, if the whites are slow to learn. His conversation, as detailed by Major Stearns, and countersigned by himself, is actually frightful. It does not cross his mind that as President he ought to regard men of all colors as equal, and that *the habit of injustice deserves no tenderness*. He proposes to give to white men *time* to learn to be just, and seems totally to forget that his liberality to their frailties is to be exercised at the expense of the colored race. He ignores the fact that in Tennessee and in Alabama negro testimony in court is rejected; and of course negroes on juries. He is infatuated with the idea that to forbid slavery except for *crime* will secure everything, while he is willing to allow white men to define that to be crime in a colored man which is not crime in a white man; for instance, to carry arms in self-defence, or to return a blow. In saying that the elective franchise is a political, not a natural right, he overlooks the whole basis of your republic, which makes it the *natural* right of all men to have *equal political rights*. (If he insisted that whatever the law of the franchise in other respects, color should have nothing to do with it, no one would ask more of him.) He affects a fear of straining his Presidential power if he did that in the rebel States which he ought not to do in Pennsylvania. This is virtually to condone rebellion, to forget that *you are now wholly responsible* for Southern institutions, and to make out that you have no right to take securities for the future.

If he feared to use too much Executive power, it was easy for him to summon Congress last May. But he had as much right to announce that the Federal Constitution had not the words *white* and *black* in it, and that on the rebel area he knew no law but Federal law and moral law, as he had to appoint military governors and keep up martial law. Worst of all, I think, is his allowing reorganization of the State militia. While doing this, and withdrawing Federal troops, he *says*: "If they (the Southern States) go wrong, *the power is in our hands*; we can check them at any stage, *to the end*, and *oblige* them to correct their errors; we must *be patient* with them."

As your President is not at all deficient in understanding, I do not like to tell you what I think of this sentence; but he might surely be asked by a negro to explain wherein is the virtue of such *patience*. Sydney Smith would say, that A exercises *sublime patience* with B, while B is tormenting C. Does the President seriously say, that when the Federal troops are withdrawn,—the State militia constituted, State rights restored,—you have any power of "*obliging*" the States to "correct their ERRORS"[*] *except by a new civil war?* Mr. Seward (in same paper) tells us at Auburn, for our comfort, that there cannot be a new civil war. It is comforting to the white race, but it is the knell of despair to the colored race. It secures that the "South shall be victorious," as Wendell Phillips puts it; and from despair alone will come a negro uprising and war of races. This would bring on you lasting disgrace, instead of that moral glory which you had all but earned; it might make your whole future as stained as that of bloody old Europe.

This conversation of the President, following on his heartless speech to the colored soldiers, (so unlike his Nashville speech in October, 1864!) exhibits him as one who cannot come right except by external constraint; and Mr. Seward's speech is the warrant that the whole Cabinet is going wrong. (Have they corrupted him?) I see no possibility of Congress bringing him right by a mere *defensive* policy: it must assume the *aggressive* against him, to give it a chance of success. The mildest form of attack, I think, would be to invite him to explain his apparent neglect of the Act of Congress which forbids any one who has been in overt rebellion to hold office or draw pay from the Federal Government. Also, his allowing the reorganization of State militia should be solemnly denounced as initiating the means of a new rebellion. Sallust (I think) says, that not to reward meritorious public conduct is of little harm to a republic; but not to punish malversations is the seed of the gravest commotions. I sadly believe that you now need, not merely to punish treason, but to resent the ill use of high powers, if you are to avoid terrible results.

If Andrew Johnson were to address Congress with perfect frankness, he might say: "You passed a law to forbid rebels to hold high power; I have overruled that and put them in power again. You confiscated their estates; I have reduced that as nearly to a nullity as I can. The Constitution gave me power of pardoning criminals condemned by a court of justice; because in the best systems of jurisprudence there will be mistakes. I have assumed a more than regal power in a case of war and rebellion not foreseen, not provided for, and have forgiven in mass, against the expressed judgment of Congress, rebels whom I avowed, six months ago, it was necessary to punish. In consequence, I warn Northerners not to migrate southward and suppose the problem finished. I have given the old tyrants power to persecute; and all white men who talk of equality must *expect* to be persecuted, until, after a lapse of years, the leopard has changed its spots, and '*white men have become black*.' Till then, let no one dream that we can dispense with *patience*, or have a prosperous South, a desirable field for immigration, or able (if willing) to pay Federal taxes. Such having been my deeds, I now trust you will find it is *impossible* to do anything but endorse all that I have done, and strengthen my hands to *oblige* the South *in the end* to do justice to the negro."

The answer to this should (virtually) be,—It is possible to call you to account, for throwing away in six months of peace what we earned by four years' war.

Mr. Seward admires a wound that "heals by the first intention"; so do I. Benjamin Butler, like a good surgeon, cut clearly away the whole morbid part; then the healing went on rapidly. Mr. Lincoln was frightened at this and displaced him. Ever since the system has been to cut off bit by bit the mortified parts. (If injustice enshrined by law and administered by the magistrate does not make a polity mortify, what does?) And now Mr. Johnson coolly avows, that *in the end* you can always correct the South, and *always oblige* it to do right. Will the Abolitionists, as Mr. Garrison last year, this year also, allow dust to be flung into their eyes by the President, and take on themselves the guilt of paralyzing Congress?

[*] Their *errors*—i. e., perhaps their *cruelties*. He prefers *correcting* to *preventing*.

LETTER FROM OWEN LOVEJOY.

One of the last letters written by Owen Lovejoy, dated at Washington, in March, 1864, has been communicated to the Washington *Republican* by ex-Governor Hahn, of Louisiana, to whom it was addressed. The following are extracts:

"We cannot go to the bottom, where the granite is, in order to build, without giving the elective franchise to the negro. I am satisfied that if we stop short of that, our house is built upon the sand, and that when the floods come, and the winds blow, and the rains descend, great will be the fall thereof. The sense of justice which has been awakened in the nation by the rebellion will not rest satisfied to have forgiven rebels, who have fought to overthrow the Government, and drive away loyal black soldiers who have fought to sustain it. It is not necessary at first that all should vote. You can allow those who can read and write to vote; or you can allow black soldiers to vote. The privilege of voting given to the latter class, to wit: the soldiers, would commend itself, I think, to the whole nation. You may think that this is owing to my overweening anxiety for the blacks, but it is not that alone, nor chiefly. I am satisfied that Providence will not let us settle this question until we settle it on the foundation of equal and exact justice to all, in accordance with the principles of the Declaration of Independence and of the Constitution, which know nothing of black or white, rich or poor, but regard the rights of men, as such, as sacred.

"I was much gratified the other day, in a conversation with the President, (Lincoln,) to find that his views on this subject accord with my own. He does not feel that he can require this, as a delegation requested him to. Still, he desires it to be done by the action of the people themselves.

"If Louisiana takes the lead, I think all the other States will follow, and then we shall have settled this question on deep and broad foundations, against which the gates of hell cannot prevail. The number of those who are at first admitted to the privilege of the elective franchise does not to me seem essential, for if you let any portion of the colored people vote, the rest will follow in time.

"I had a conversation with Governor Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, on this subject. He feels right, personally. I do hope you will see your way clear to take the lead in the matter. You will thus not only do a good thing for your country, but immortalize your name, for I am satisfied the nation will grow to this, if it has not already touched it."

The Liberator.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1865.

THE LAST QUARTER.

The *Liberator* is now on its last quarter, prior to the final close of its publication. It is not only desirable, but necessary, therefore, that those who are indebted to it should promptly remit what is due; as the expenses of the paper have been greatly increased, and its receipts lessened, during the present year; and as every farthing will be needed—and more—to enable us to complete the volume.

THE NEW CONGRESS.

A favorable presage in regard to the action of this body may be drawn from the movements of a preliminary caucus of Republican Representatives, held in Washington last Saturday evening. One hundred and twenty-four of these gentlemen were present, and they unanimously voted the following resolution, to be presented in the House at the earliest moment possible, by Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, the mover:—

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled, That a joint committee of fifteen members shall be appointed, nine of whom shall be members of the House, and six of the Senate, who shall inquire into the condition of the States which formed the so-called Confederate States of America, and report whether any of them are entitled to be represented in either House of Congress, with leave to report at any time, by bill or otherwise; and until such report shall have been made and finally acted on by Congress, no member shall be received into either House from any of the so-called Confederate States; and all papers relating to the representatives of said States shall be referred to said committee without debate.

In the Senate, on the first day of its session, Hon. Henry Wilson introduced the following bill, which he will press to an early vote, believing that immediate action is demanded by the present state of affairs in the South:—

"An act to maintain the freedom of the inhabitants in the States declared in insurrection and rebellion by the proclamation of the President of the 1st of July, 1862.

Be it enacted, &c., That all laws, statutes, acts, ordinances, rules and regulations of any description whatsoever, heretofore in force or held valid in any of the States which were declared to be in insurrection and rebellion by the proclamation of the President of the 1st of July, 1862, whereby or wherein any inequality of civil rights and immunities among the inhabitants of said States is recognized, authorized, established or maintained by reason of or in consequence of any distinctions or differences of color, race or descent, or by reason of or in consequence of the previous condition or status of slavery or involuntary servitude of such inhabitants, be and are hereby declared null and void. And it shall be unlawful to institute, make, ordain or establish in any of the States declared as aforesaid to be in insurrection or rebellion, any such law, statute, act, ordinance, rule or regulation, or to enforce, or to attempt to enforce the same.

Section 2d. And be it further enacted, that any person who shall violate any of the provisions of this act shall be guilty of misdemeanor, and be punished by a fine of not less than $500, nor exceeding $10,000, and by imprisonment for not less than six months, and not exceeding five years. And it shall be the duty of the President to enforce this act."

Mr. Sumner also introduced several bills, and series of resolutions, all bearing on the subject of re-construction in the States lately in rebellion.

These are movements in the right direction. It is of the highest importance that a decided majority in both Houses should see the necessity of pitching their action, from the beginning of the session, upon the key thus correctly struck. To treat treason *as a crime* is the first duty of the Congress that convenes immediately after the overthrow of the rebellion. Its second duty is to provide that the traitors who have been baffled in arms shall not be successful in negotiation; shall not impudently thrust themselves into the councils of the nation which they have tried to destroy; shall not plant the seeds of a future rebellion in the Constitutions or codes of their reconstructed States; shall not reassume, in their several communities, that aristocratic or oligarchic position which enabled them to do the mischief of the last thirty years; and, above all, shall not be allowed, either in the way last mentioned or in any other way, to hold undue power one moment longer over the black loyalists of the South, the race which they so long held in slavery; the race which they now doubly hate, first as having injured them, next as having been conquered by them.

But the duties of the new Congress will demand other action also, and action of the very highest importance, namely: a statement clear and decisive, beyond the possibility of doubt, in regard to several matters which, though seeming to be settled in times past, were successfully contested in practice, to the disgrace of the whole nation, and to the loss and injury of large classes of its people.

What is a Republican form of Government? This is one of the matters which should now be settled, for the instruction of the American people, and the direction of every future Administration. Our Constitution has always declared that the United States shall guaranty to every State in this Union a Republican form of Government; yet, for half a century past, a despotism as absolute as any in Asia or Africa has ruled supreme in our Southern States. Within those regions, the name of an American citizen was as powerless to protect from Judge Lynch as the name of a Roman citizen from Verres. Their officers of government, nay, their Courts (miscalled) of Justice, were as dangerous to a good man as their mobs. If a government truly Republican will insure us against these evils, let us have it in every State; and let the new Congress so define it that we may know when we have it.

Who are "citizens" of the United States? The claim of citizenship is one which haughty officials have taken it upon themselves to deny to persons as fully possessed of all its characteristic features as themselves, and vastly superior to themselves in the moral scale. Let us now have this right so defined that no denial or evasion of it shall hereafter be possible.

Who have the right of suffrage under a Republican Government?

Are persons proved guilty of infamous crime, known murderers, thieves, perjured persons, to be considered entitled to it?

Are known traitors, persons who have already once broken their pledges to the nation, to be considered entitled to it?

Are rebels lately in arms against the nation, rebels who impudently avow themselves unchanged in spirit and temper, to be considered entitled to it?

The peculiar circumstances of the present time are such that cases coming under these three classes are now first in importance, most imperiously demanding examination and decision. At any other time, no one would dispute the negative answer which common sense immediately gives in all such cases. But the corrupting influences which culminated in the rebellion have wrought so long and so powerfully in all parts of our country that effort, and argument, and decisive action, even in a case so plain as this, have become imperatively necessary. Since the decision of common sense is disputed by large numbers of people, it is really indispensable that Congress should debate and decide whether a detected cheat, who still wishes to cheat, should again be put in a place of trust? and whether a defeated enemy, who declares himself still hostile in mind, should again be put in a place of power? These, therefore, are the very first matters upon which Congress should act.

When these are decided, (and whichever way they are decided,) the questions next in importance relative to suffrage are these:—

Shall the colored people, one sixth part of the nation, be excluded from it?

Shall women, one half the nation, be excluded from it?

Both these classes are human beings, important members of the community, and thus entitled to a voice in that which concerns the public welfare.

Both are governed, and thus are entitled, according to the Declaration of Independence, to a voice in the government.

Both are taxed, and may say to us as justly as we did to Great Britain, "No taxation without representation!"

Portions of both these classes will probably address the present Congress with the request that their claims be now heard, and their rights guaranteed by the national Constitution and laws. Can the nation afford to violate right and justice by disregarding or refusing their request? Upon the present Congress rests the weighty responsibility of deciding this question.—C. K. W.

THE THANKSGIVING CONTRIBUTION.

We take for granted that all our readers are aware of the proposed arrangement to have collections taken in all the churches on the approaching National Thanksgiving, to be devoted to the relief of the suffering and needy among the freed people. It is earnestly hoped and desired that this arrangement should be carried into effect everywhere. The strong appeal of the American Freedmen's Aid Commission (which appeared in the *Liberator* two weeks since) states the necessity of the case in clear, simple, forcible words. In two States,—Georgia and Alabama,—the destitution and lack of food are such that, without prompt and efficient succor, *seventy thousand* persons must die of starvation this winter! This statement is made in the aforesaid appeal; it is no idle, impulsive, hap-hazard talk, but is deliberately made by a responsible and well-known association, having agents in all parts of the late slaveholding States, whose reports are the warrant and evidence of the truth of the statements made. But in other States, also, there is extensive destitution. The whole number who will depend upon charitable relief this winter, *to save them from death by starvation*, does not, probably, fall much below ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND! Nor is it strange that, in the sudden and complete breaking-up of all the social and commercial arrangements of the Southern States, the amount of destitution and suffering should be very great. This is always the result of long and desolating war. But, added to that, in the present instance, are all the causes growing out of the jealous and angry feelings of the slaveholders towards their former slaves,—as shown in the refusal of great numbers to employ them at all, and of still greater numbers to give them any fair wages for their labor. If, out of three and a half millions of slaves, of all ages and conditions of health and both sexes, suddenly thrown upon their own capacity to help themselves, and in the face of every manner of obstacle put in their way by the spite of their old masters and others, only one hundred thousand are thrown upon charity for a time, it will surely be deemed cause of surprise as well as of thankfulness. As to whether the policy of the government has, or has not, affected their circumstances unfavorably, we cannot say. Possibly it has done so. Yet, in the most favorable circumstances possible, it cannot be doubted that very extensive and severe suffering must have occurred. At all events, the people of the North cannot, and they certainly will not, sit contentedly still, with knowledge of the actual and prospective want of food, and absolute necessaries of life among the Southern freed people, without vigorous efforts to supply the want.

It is to be remembered, too, how many old and young persons there must be, among three and a half millions of laboring people, who would be entirely unable, in any circumstances, to obtain their own living,—even if they were placed amongst friends. Many of these would have no one to whom they could look for support, and so become, in the best circumstances, a public charge. From many of these their natural supporters have been taken away by the deaths of their sons, husbands, fathers, in the war,—some in the Union armies, others forced into the service of the rebels.

Therefore let every man, every woman, every child, at the North this winter constantly remember their destitute fellow-creatures, old and young, among the freed people. Let every religious society through the country make its contribution,—if not on Thanksgiving day, then at an early day,—in such form as suits it best, and consecrate it, with thankful hearts to God for the ability to relieve misery, to the rescue of those at the South for whose long-protracted wrongs and poverty the North is largely answerable. Every channel of relief is now ready and open. Let us, every one, recognize our duty to send the needed relief.—M.

DISCONTINUANCE OF THE LIBERATOR. We believe we are safe in asserting that the subscribers and readers of the *Liberator* universally lament its discontinuance, whatever difference of judgment may exist among them as to the propriety of that discontinuance. So close has become their intimacy with its leading thought and purpose, so warm their regard for its editor,—so indispensable, in short, has the *Liberator* become to them,—that they cannot be reconciled to the thought that it is to be no longer.

"What paper shall we take in place of it?" is a question which must arise in many minds. And each will answer the question for himself, according to his own views, tastes, and means. For those who are able to afford the subscription price, ($6 per annum,) *The Nation*, published by Joseph H. Richards, at 130 Nassau Street, New York, is in our opinion the most worthy to succeed the *Liberator*. Its merits, of ability, boldness, variety, elevation of thought and moral tone, its vigilant interest in the freedmen's cause,—to say nothing of its handsome appearance, and clear, distinct type,—make it a most desirable paper for every intelligent family. We wish it could be afforded at a price placing it within the reach of *Liberator* subscribers generally.

Our readers, however, will not forget that an Anti-Slavery journal will continue to issue from the present office of the *Liberator*. The new paper, established for gratuitous circulation, by Major GEORGE L. STEARNS, entitled "*The Right Way*," commends itself to all as an out-spoken, uncompromising, ably-edited, anti-slavery sheet. Although circulated gratuitously, Major Stearns desires the help of all friends in the great work upon which he has entered. We recommend to our readers in every town where the *Liberator* now goes, to make up a list of names of those who would read and circulate "*The Right Way*," and, obtaining such pecuniary contributions as they can in aid of the paper, send the whole to W. W. THAYER, agent of the paper, at 221 Washington Street, Boston. This may be done at once, and the back numbers of the paper,—two or three having been issued,—may thus be secured.—S. M., JR.

LETTER FROM HARRIET MARTINEAU. The republication of Miss Martineau's "History of the Peace," commenced last year by Messrs. Walker, Fuller & Co., is to be completed in December by the issue of vols. 3 and 4. The work is a consecutive History of England from 1800 to 1854; and furnished as it will be with a full index, it becomes an invaluable accessory to every library. The following characteristic letter from Miss Martineau, addressed to her American publishers, will be read with interest, not unmixed with sadness, as hinting at an event which cannot be far distant:

"THE KNOLL, AMBLESIDE, Nov. 8, 1865.

DEAR SIR: I have received your draft on Messrs. Whiddell, Green & Son. for £—, and herewith enclose my receipt for the amount, as the last due from me to you. I beg to thank you for this settlement, and for the copies you are so good as to send me as a compliment.

It is a great satisfaction to me that this business is settled—the very last in my literary career. I am too ill to work, and this correspondence is the close of my literary business. I am very sensible of the courtesy which you have shown to me throughout and you have my best wishes for the success of the History. I must also congratulate you on the close of your dreadful war, and the prospect of a happy future for your country.

Believe me, dear sirs, very truly, yours,
HARRIET MARTINEAU."

COLORED PEOPLE'S CONVENTION.

In accordance with a call issued by thirty one of the leading colored men of New England, a convention of colored people assembled at the Twelfth Baptist Church, Southac st., 24 inst., for the purpose of choosing delegates to attend the next session of Congress at Washington, with the hope of affecting its action on the subject of "Reconstruction." They wish also to have the Constitution so altered as to fix a general qualification for voters, in all the States, to have settled what is citizenship, in an American sense; and to look to all matters concerning the colored man, and his status in the land.

The Convention was called to order by Mr. Geo. L. Ruffin. Rev. L. A. Grimes was chosen Temporary Chairman, and G. L. Ruffin Temporary Secretary. A Committee on Permanent Organization was appointed, after which prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Ross, and Mr. Frederick Douglass briefly addressed the Convention.

The Committee on Permanent Organization reported the following list of officers of the Convention, which was adopted:—

President—C. L. Remond, of Salem; Vice Presidents—George T. Downing of Rhode Island, E. P. Talbot of Portland, Peter Ross of Connecticut, W. W. Brown, of Cambridge; Secretaries—George L. Ruffin of Boston, S. S. Murray of Portland, A. G. Jourdain, Jr. of New Bedford, T. W. Green of Rhode Island, Peter Nott.

Mr. Remond delivered an able address on taking the chair. Committees on Business and Finance were appointed, and the Convention adjourned till 2½ P. M.

In the afternoon, the Convention met pursuant to adjournment. After the reading of the records, Mr. George T. Downing of Newport, R. I., Chairman of the Business Committee, reported the following series of resolutions, which we take from the report of the *Journal*:—

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Convention that there should be sent to Washington, to remain there during the session of Congress, a colored delegation, to endeavor to influence the legislation of Congress, so that in its action it may not give "color to the idea" "that black men have no rights that white men are bound to respect."

Resolved, That this idea commends itself to white as well as colored men; for until equality before the law for all Americans, without regard to color, be the guiding sentiment of the land, there will be kept up an agitation, a conflict as intense, as wide-spread, as all-absorbing as was that which marked the history of the anti-slavery warfare, which will materially affect all the business of the land.

Resolved, That with this view, we invite substantial assistance from the merchant, the mechanic, the agriculturist, and from all interested in the nation's character and prosperity, that these interests may not be longer clogged by an agitation which will be unto the end.

Resolved, That the presence at Washington of a discreet, intelligent, and refined delegation of colored men (who would be the representatives of a large class) would have great influence in creating due respect for the entire colored people.

Resolved, That the States of Connecticut, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, in refusing to allow colored American citizens the right to vote for their rulers, have given practical force to the idea that "black men have no rights which white men are bound to respect," their course not being marked by any discrimination as to character or intelligence.

Resolved, That we beseech Congress on this subject, whenever it may act, not to follow this unfair example, for if it shall set an example of disregarding American's rights because of their color, it will excuse, to a great degree, the injustice, the outrages being showered upon the heads of unoffending colored citizens in the South, for having fought and saved the nation.

Whereas, in the construction of a government according to the "Declaration" of the nation, it should be made subservient to the rights and interests of the people; and whereas, according to the said "Declaration," "all governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed;" and whereas, any construction or reconstruction of a government or State, to be just, must be based on this principle; and whereas, it is a principle of the nation that taxation and representation should go together; and whereas, both black and white are taxed in common for the support of the government; and whereas, the Constitution of the nation knows no man, under any circumstances, by his color; and whereas, all distinctions among the government's loyal subjects, of which it can in a political sense take cognizance, must be based on law, alias "civil government," and whereas, President Johnson, in his several and in each of his proclamations, looking to a reconstruction of the States lately in rebellion, officially declares in these words, that "all civil government has ceased to exist therein;" therefore be it

Resolved, That it is the judgment of this Convention that Congress cannot justly recognize any distinction among the loyal citizens of the United States in any State being reconstructed, that a class, because white, has the exclusive right to vote therein, or on any idea as to the existence of privileged classes in any such States, in which "all civil government has ceased to exist."

Resolved, That the many cases which have occurred recently of whipping, scourging and murdering of the freedmen of the South, by their late masters, as well as by the cruel and oppressive laws which have been enacted by the provisional Legislatures of the Southern States, we are plainly either a desire to forcibly drive the negroes from the country, or to provoke such resistance on their part as would excuse a general massacre of them; and we call upon the Congress of the United States, either by general law or through the agency of the Freedmen's Bureau, to throw around the loyal blacks such protection as will secure them from the hatred of their former owners—a hatred created by the assistance which the blacks have given the loyal cause.

The report was accepted, and the first resolution adopted, and, on motion of Mr. Hayden of Boston, it was voted that the delegation called for by that resolution consist of one.

A Committee was appointed to nominate this delegate, and reported the name of George T. Downing of Newport, R. I. The report was accepted and adopted by acclamation. During the afternoon and evening sessions, speeches were made by Mr. Remond, the President, Mr. Douglass, and others.

CIRCULAR.

AMERICAN FREEDMEN'S AID COMMISSION,
GENERAL OFFICE, 444 FOURTEENTH ST.,
WASHINGTON, D. C., Nov. 20, 1865.

In pursuance of the original design in the establishment of this office, notice is given that it is an office of general correspondence, at which may be accumulated, for the advantage of all correspondents, accurate and comprehensive information in regard to the history, present condition, and probable future of the Freedmen's Aid movement, as a whole, and in its parts.

Correspondence is, therefore, invited from all sources of information, whether within or without the limits of the Commission; and all information, gleaned from whatever source, will be at the command of those who contribute to the common stock, subject only to modifications of obvious propriety.

This invitation is directed especially to—

I. All officers of the Commission, and of its branches and auxiliaries.

II. All field agents, superintendents, teachers and other employees of the Commission, southward.

III. All assistant commissioners, officers and agents of the Bureau of Freedmen's Affairs.

IV. All executive officers, agents, superintendents, teachers and other employees of benevolent associations operating in aid of the Freedmen, without formal connection with the Commission.

V. Independent laborers among the freed people.

VI. Friends of the Commission and of its beneficiaries, northward, and especially southward, whose observations and suggestions may be of value to executive officers.

The information, to be most valuable, should be concisely stated, and should be given with the most conscientious regard for precise accuracy. The repetition of error will hardly serve the purposes of truth. If the precise facts are not known, the conjecture should be given as conjecture only.

The data especially desired may be classified under such general titles as follows:—

I. From executive officers we should be glad to learn—

1. The history in brief of the organization for which they act; enclosing the date of its formation, its precise purpose, its general and particular policy, its constituency, its field of operations, its collections and disbursements in the aggregate, and the like.

2. More definitely, its operations in detail during the year ending August, 1865; as (a) collections; (b) disbursements; (c) collecting agencies, and their cost; (d) teachers, superintendents, and other employees; their aggregate number and relative distribution, geographical and other, extending to complete lists, if practicable; (e) concise statements of the relief work prosecuted, with statistics of orphan asylums, industrial schools, and special agencies.

II. From field agents, district superintendents, and teachers, duplicates of their monthly reports to the offices commissioning them, severally, or as nearly an equivalent as may be.

III. From assistant commissioners, and agents of the Bureau, monthly duplicates of reports rendered by their subordinates, so far as the same may be of general interest, and properly communicable; or, better, consolidations of these, tabulated for convenience of reference, with explanatory notes when necessary.

IV. From independent laborers and observing friends, such special information as will not be likely to come from other sources.

And, generally, from all, free suggestions and friendly criticism in the interest of the Commission work.

It is believed that such an interchange of the results of wide experience and extended observation may be made conducive to the greatly increased efficiency of all instrumentalities, and to the marked satisfaction of all participating laborers.

Communications, to insure prompt delivery, should be marked "Lock Box, 51."

JACOB R. SHIPHERD, *Secretary*.

LETTERS FROM NEW YORK. NO. XLVIII.

NEW YORK, Nov. 30, 1865.

To the Editor of the Liberator:

The President having seen fit to interrupt the opening of the session of Congress with a Thanksgiving,—as if that body needed reminding that it is proper to say grace before proceeding to digest the affairs of the nation,—a little interval is left for those parties who are likely to be unpleasantly affected by the action of Congress to congratulate themselves upon their present impunity. On Thursday next, Jeff. Davis, on waking, will offer thanks because he still survives the Confederacy. The political leaders and rulers of the subjugated States will simultaneously be thankful that if they are not absolutely restored to their former power, they are by no means absolutely debarred from it. A grateful chorus will also arise from those who, being excepted from the amnesty, had means enough to travel to Washington before December, and received that remission of sins which the Prophet awards to all faithful pilgrims. The freedman will rejoice that his fetters are not yet fastened on him again; the planter, that the ways of oppression are not wholly closed against his malice; the South generally will thank the leniency or stupidity of its conquerors for the opportunity of reviving a once suppressed rebellion—of renewing a once fought and settled battle—instead of submitting helplessly to the *mot d' ordre* of the Capitol and the White House.

It remains to be seen, indeed, whether the decision of the field is to be affirmed, or reversed, or enfeebled in the forum; whether, even if the South is not victorious, the North shall continue so. One sees at Athens the temple of *Victory without Wings*, and such a deity should abide with *Liberty* at the altar of the Republic. How to make her abide!—that is substantially the question for Congress. Some people, among the well-meaning, imagine it can be done without the aid of the military. To such I would recommend a perusal of the letter of "Dixon," in your *Daily Advertiser* of last Saturday. It appears from that correspondent's experience that his life was endangered, first, by declining to take a drink with certain low fellows of the town of Albany, Georgia; then, that for simply counselling a colored man to retire from a quarrel with a rebel in the livery of the United States, he was insulted, dogged about the streets, and finally besieged in his hotel by a drunken, murderous mob, until it became necessary to retreat clandestinely from the house and seek a lodging elsewhere; and that in the morning, he only escaped lynching by taking an earlier train than was anticipated. This occurred in the immediate neighborhood and even presence of Federal troops. It shows how little alteration the last eight months of Federal supremacy have effected in Southern society. It shows that suspicion and hatred of Northerners still exist, intensified, we may be sure, by the physical and moral triumph of the North. And as it was once enough to know that a man was from a free State to suspect him of being an Abolitionist, so now the same knowledge will suffice to suspect him of being a friend of "nigger equality." The penalties which attended the former suspicion, it is evident, will accompany the latter. Our "reconstructed" enemies are returning, with a nonchalance of which they alone are capable, to their old tactics. They mean to impede locomotion, keep out unwelcome immigrants, and bury free speech beyond the reach of anything but bayonets. Already, the only presses which are unmuzzled at the South owe their liberty of utterance to the fact that they are published at a military post. Withdraw this protection, and the fate of Lovejoy may overtake every editor who pretends to be not only anti-slavery, but loyal. Take away the soldiers, and the freedmen's schools are doomed. Lawless violence will presently have choked every channel of intelligence which the war has opened, and the poor white equally with the negro be beyond the reach of elevating influence from without. In that day, it will appear, not that the second American revolution has gone backward, but that it has only advanced a single stage towards success.

I hope it is not ominous that ex-President Buchanan's history of his own Administration was issued last week in this city, where his memory is still linked with that of his worthy subordinate, Captain Isaiah Rynders. It is not everybody that has time to read posthumous memoirs, and lest you may have been forced to neglect this curiosity of literature, let me characterize it briefly as a very godly showing of the grace of compromise. You are to imagine an author who records for you half a dozen compacts between Virtue and the Adversary, every one of which failed to satisfy either of the high contracting parties, and who thinks that, after all, there is no other way by which the universe can be governed. Of course, the object of such bargaining is peace—that tranquillity of the State under despotism such as we are now witnessing in France, and which Rousseau styled forcibly the peace of the graveyard. One hardly knows what feeling should predominate as he reads Buchanan's dispassionate defence, whether of astonishment that he can have lived through the past four years without perceiving the fundamental change in our national politics, or of pity that so old a man should be nearing the grave in such moral destitution, or of shame that he was once the Chief Magistrate of the nation, and that his atheistic doctrines are still cherished by a very large proportion of his countrymen.

The excuse which was urged for the original compromises of the Constitution has clearly no weight in the present crisis. There is no further price to be paid for Union. There is not even a pretense of an agreement. Congress is not obliged to chaffer, but is able to dictate and bound to dictate. Compliance on the part of the South involves no concession on the part of the North. Its admission hereafter need not be a condition of obedience now, nor in any sense a *quid pro quo*; but will proceed from the sovereign pleasure of Congress, untrammelled by any obligation except to observe the Constitution and to consult the safety of republican institutions. To this great freedom and equal responsibility the late elections have added a solemn sanction. How far it will be heeded by the men who meet at Washington next Monday, and what reason they will furnish posterity

for remembering the approaching holiday, we shall know with tolerable certainty before I write again.

Before that time, too, another experiment in reconstruction will have been decided: I mean, the substitution of honest men for knaves in our municipal offices. You may know that there are three parties in this city which favor a change of Mayor, against one that believes in the *statu quo*. So we are likely to have a change, where any change will be for the better. We have great hopes of the success of a coalition between the heavy tax-payers and the most unscrupulous demagogues—between the Citizen's Association and Mozart Hall. Messrs. A. T. Stewart and Peter Cooper anticipate a reduction of taxes and insurance rates through the efforts of Fernando Wood and other distinguished friends of economy and incorruptible government. I trust they will not be disappointed, if their candidate wins, but I cannot own to being as sanguine as they. It is very much as if Mr. Hecker's farina should combine with swill milk to secure a wholesome diet for the people.

M. DU PAYS.

CONGRESS. The new Congress duly assembled at Washington, on Monday, the 4th. In the Senate, Mr. Sumner of Massachusetts introduced several bills on important topics, and Mr. Wilson one, whose effect would be to sweep away all laws and statutes of the Southern States making distinction among citizens on account of color. In the House, no representative was admitted from any of the rebel States, nor was even Mr. Maynard of Tennessee, a man of undoubted loyal and anti-slavery principle, recognized as a member. Hon. SCHUYLER COLFAX was elected Speaker by 139 votes to 35 for James Brooks, of New York. The joint resolution raising a Committee to inquire into the present condition of the States lately in rebellion, and their attitude towards the U. S. Government, and the claims of their representatives to seats in Congress, was also passed in the House, by a vote of 133. It is said that the President freely admits in conversation with members that his experiment with the lately rebel States is a failure.

P. S. After the above was in type, we received the President's Message, which was communicated to Congress on Tuesday afternoon. We have no space to give even a synopsis of it. The President gives reasons for his course in relation to the States late in rebellion. He considers their adoption of the Anti-Slavery Amendment of the Constitution absolutely essential to their return into the Union. As they have but in part, and then only at the last moment, adopted it, he does not recommend their being received; but leaves Congress to judge of the whole matter. He believes the freedmen will soonest obtain participation in the elective franchise through action of the States, than through the General Government, even though the latter had power to confer it,—which he thinks it has not. He insists on the necessity of full security to the freedmen in their liberty, property, right to labor, and just remuneration.—M.

THE FREEDMEN'S BOOK. BY L. MARIA CHILD.

This is a little volume of 277 pages, only recently announced, yet eagerly expected by all friends of the freedmen to whom the announcement came. It has been prepared expressly for the freed people, "in the hope that those who can read will read it aloud to others, and that all will derive fresh strength and courage from this true record of what colored men have accomplished, under great disadvantages." Mrs. Child has "written all the biographies over again"; that is, in fact, has given us new biographies of such noted persons as Banneker, Toussaint L'Ouverture, Phillis Wheatley, James Forten, Madison Washington, Frederick Douglass, William and Ellen Crafts. Interspersed among these are prose and poetical contributions and selections, from such authors as Garrison, Whittier, Mrs. Stowe, Henry Wilson, F. Douglass, Mrs. Harper, Mrs. Jacobs, Mattie Griffith, Judge Kelly, and many others. A friend in whose judgment we can fully trust, and who has had more leisure to examine the book than ourselves, speaks of it with the warmest approbation and satisfaction. The biographies, especially, are said to be most interestingly prepared. But who can doubt this? Who that knows the author can doubt her conscientious fidelity in preparing the book, or her power to throw a charm over what so deeply moves her own heart? The whole proceeds of the book are to be used for the benefit of the freedmen, in a very judicious manner, as will be seen by the preface.—M.

☞ The Nashville *Union* thus reviews and deprecates the mistakes of the South in not embracing more quickly the terms of President Johnson:

"We will begin with Tennessee, the President's own State. Has she come up to his standard? She has repudiated the rebel debt, declared secession null and void, abolished slavery, ratified the Constitutional Amendment, and elected representatives to Congress who can take the oath of office. So far, all well. But upon the important question of protecting by law the rights of the freedmen, making them equals before the law with the whites, what has she done? Just nothing. A bill doing them justice on the question of testifying in the courts has passed the Senate, but hangs fire in the House of Representatives; and, we are told, will fail. Can Tennessee appear at Washington, and, as a supporter of the President's policy—who has complied with all his demands—ask admission for her Senators and Representatives into Congress? Surely not. She can claim the favor of neither the President's adherents in that body, nor of the radicals.

Mississippi started well. She accepted abolition of slavery, and altered her Constitution to conform to the change in her domestic institutions, and declared her ordinance of secession null and void. But she has gone no further. She withholds her assent to the ratification of the Constitutional Amendment, has refused the freedmen the right to testify in the State courts, and appears determined to deny them the rights and privileges which the President demands for them, and without which freedom is but a name.

Alabama, following next after Mississippi, with her Constitutional Convention, did better. She added to what her predecessor did, the repudiation of the rebel debt. Her Legislature meets to-morrow. We shall not anticipate its action. We hope its first act will be to ratify the Constitutional Amendment; and that she will follow it up by doing full and ample justice to her freedmen.

North Carolina stands upon the same platform as Alabama. Her action has been the same; and she has still to meet the question of ratification of the Constitutional Amendment, and providing for the proper protection of her freedmen. [North Carolina has since ratified the Amendment.] She has elected to Congress a delegation, not one of whom can take the oath, and perhaps beaten the Union candidate for Governor, thus showing her deep-seated hostility to the federal government, and her intention to do nothing she can avoid to return to her place in the national councils.

South Carolina has taken a step in advance of Mississippi, Alabama and North Carolina, and ratified the Constitutional Amendment. But she simply repealed her secession ordinances, thus adhering to the doctrine of secession, has not repudiated the rebel debt, and seems inclined to keep her free colored population in a state but little better than abject slavery.

Georgia, taking the cue from South Carolina, repealed her secession ordinance, accepted the abolition of slavery, but with an eye to future compensation, and not until she found it could not be avoided, repudiated the rebel debt. She has yet to act upon the ratification question, and to pass laws for the protection of the freedmen.

Florida has simply annulled her secession ordinance, and whilst recognizing the abolition of slavery and adapting her organic law to the change, has refused to repudiate the rebel debt, submitting the matter to a vote of the people. This is as far as she has gone. The other question will come before the Legislature.

Texas has, as yet, done nothing. Her provisional Governor is 'making haste slowly.'

Louisiana is more advanced than Tennessee, inasmuch as freedmen in that State are admitted as witnesses in the courts. But she is still below the mark in giving her colored population their rights.

Arkansas is in about the same condition as Tennessee."

With the turn that things have thus taken, says the *Evening Post*, a final and satisfactory reintegration must be postponed, no man knows how long. The President, prompted by his best instincts as a man and a democrat, having done his best to present the Union fully harmonized and united to Congress, must now present it as it is. He must describe what he has done and what the South has failed to do, and commit the responsibility therefore to the National Legislature

SOUTH CAROLINA COLORED CONVENTION.

CHARLESTON, Nov. 25, 1865.

A State Convention of the colored people of South Carolina met in Charleston on Monday of last week, closing its labors this morning. Delegates were in attendance from all parts of the State. Representative men were present—men whose sentiments would have commanded respect even in the North. Their deliberations have been marked by a degree of sagacity, calmness and earnest sincerity which has surprised their friends, and commanded the respect of even the most skeptical. The *Daily South Carolinian*, published in Charleston, a journal of acknowledged ability, and far from being suspected of possessing overmuch faith in the capabilities of the negroes for self government, declared it to be a very respectable assemblage, and its deliberations entitled to high consideration. A candid world is bound to acknowledge its proceedings as the grandest exhibition of progressive ideas the State has ever known.

Without attempting to give a full report of what was done, your correspondent will transcribe the most material part of the proceedings.

The Convention organized by the choice of the following officers:—

President—Thomas M. Holmes. *Vice Presidents*—Jacob Mills, J. J. Wright, W. M. Simons. *Secretaries*—John C. Des Verney, A. J. Ransier, E. B. Raney.

The following Committees were appointed:—

On Finance—Paul Poinsett, John Bonum, Wm. Dart, of Charleston. On Business—Robert De Large of Charleston, J. J. Wright of Beaufort, John Chesnut of Kershaw, Mark Brooks of Sumter, S. Gaillard of John's Island, W. B. Nash of Richland, G. Baxter of Winyah, James McPherson of Orangeburg, Francis Davis of Chester, ——— White of Greenville.

A State Central Committee was also chosen, whose duty it is to advise together upon the general interests of the colored people. They were also empowered to call a State Convention of the colored people whenever in their opinion it shall seem expedient.

The following resolutions from the Business Committee were reported, which met with a warm support, and were unanimously adopted:—

Whereas, "knowledge is power," and an educated and intelligent people can neither be held in, nor reduced to, bondage; therefore,

Resolved, That we will insist upon the establishment of good schools for the thorough education of our children throughout the State; and that to this end we will contribute liberally of our means, and will earnestly and persistently forward every means calculated to elevate us in the rank and position of an enlightened and Christian people.

Resolved, That we solemnly urge the parents and guardians of the young and rising generation, by the sad recollection of our forced ignorance and degradation in the past, and by the bright and inspiring hopes of the future, to see that schools are at once, if not already, established in every neighborhood, and, when so established, to see to it that every child of proper age is kept in regular attendance upon the same.

Resolved, That we appreciate, with hearts overflowing with gratitude, the noble and self-sacrificing spirit manifested by the various philanthropic and Christian associations of the North in providing teachers and establishing schools among us; and that we can only best testify such gratitude by heartily co-operating with them in their great work of love and humanity.

Subsequently, the following resolution was reported from the Business Committee:—

Resolved, That, as American chattel slavery has now passed forever away, we would cherish in our hearts no malice nor hatred toward those who were implicated in the crime of slaveholding, but would extend the right hand of fellowship to all; and would make it our special aim to establish unity, peace and brotherhood among all men:

Which was, after an animated debate, adopted.

A resolution very justly complimentary to Gen. Saxton was also reported from the Business Committee, and adopted with a will, to wit:

Resolved, That this Convention desires to express, in behalf of the colored people of this State, its sincere gratitude to Brevet Major-General Saxton for the impartial manner in which he has guarded and protected the freedmen of this department, manifesting in all his intercourse with them the spirit of the soldier, the patriot and the Christian.

It was also

Resolved, That we earnestly solicit of the General Government the continuance of the Freedmen's Bureau until such time as full protection shall be guaranteed to us by the Constitution and laws of the State.

The following resolution, adopted on Saturday, sets the colored tax-payers of the State (who, notwithstanding the great disadvantages under which they have ever labored, bear no mean share of the taxes of South Carolina) all right upon the question of taxes due the General Government; and it stands in marked contrast with the grumbling tone which the white tax-payers hold upon the same subject:—

Resolved, That we have full faith in the stability of the National Government, and that we cheerfully accept our share of the burden of taxation, trusting that the day is not far distant when we shall receive its natural equivalent, the right of representation.

By far the most important acts of the Convention are the adoption of an "Address to the White Inhabitants of the State of South Carolina," the "Petition to the State Legislature," the "Declaration of Rights and Wrongs," and last, but not least, the "Memorial to Congress," which it was the last care of the Business Committee to report to the Convention. These documents will commend themselves to the heart and intellect of liberty-loving men and women throughout the world when the fact is mentioned that they were all framed by and came warm from the blood and brain of despised black men, unaided by even a line or a word from the pen of a white man.

We here present the documents in the order following:—

DECLARATION OF RIGHTS AND WRONGS.

It is said in the Declaration of American Independence, "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

That the phrase "all men" includes the negro, no one will attempt to deny; therefore we, the colored citizens of South Carolina, and of these United States of America, justly claim such rights as are set forth in the above-mentioned Declaration of Independence.

To secure the free enjoyment of these rights is the proper object of civil governments.

Right is defined to be the just claim, ownership, or lawful title which a person has to anything. He has a right to his own body and mind, his money or other property which he has honestly earned, and the right to dispose of the same as he will, provided this is not done to the injury of others and in violation of the laws founded upon the rights of men.

But in violation of the above principles, and of justice and humanity, we have been deprived of our natural rights, which are founded in the laws of our being, which consist of personal liberty, the right of personal security, and protection against injuries to our bodies or good name.

These are a portion of our inalienable rights, because we cannot be justly deprived of them.

We have been deprived of the free exercise of political and civil rights, of natural, civil and political liberty.

The avenues of wealth and education have been closed to us. The strong will of prejudice, on the part of the dominant race, has obstructed our pursuit of happiness.

We have been subjected to cruel proscription, and our persons and our bodies have been outraged with impunity. We have been, and still are, deprived of the free choice of those who should govern us, and are subjected to an unjust taxation without representation, and have bled and toiled for the elevation of those who have degraded us, and still continue to oppress us.

Signed per order, and in behalf of the Convention,

THOMAS M. HOLMES, President.

JOHN C. DES VERNEY, Secretary.

Charleston, S. C., Nov. 21, 1865.

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of South Carolina, in General Assembly met:

GENTLEMEN: We, the colored people of the State of South Carolina, do humbly appeal to you for justice.

The last four years of war have made great changes in our condition and relation to each other, as well as in the laws and institutions of our State. We were previously either slaves, or, if free, still under the pressure of laws made in the interest and for the perpetuation of slavery.

But the events of the last four years have destroyed this state of things. Our State has been called upon to remodel her Constitution from its very foundation and first principles; and as we have been, and are still, deeply affected by all these changes in interests of vital importance to us, we have resolved, in the Convention which we have called together to consider our interests, to petition your honorable body for justice.

We ask that those laws that have been, which apply to us on account of our color, be repealed, and that in future none such be enacted. We do not presume to dictate to you, gentlemen, but we appeal to your own instincts of justice and generosity. Why should we suffer on account of the color that an all-wise Creator has given to us? Is it possible that the only reason for enacting stringent and oppressive laws for us is because our color is of a darker hue?

We feel assured, gentlemen, that no valid reason can exist for the enactment and perpetuation of laws that have peculiar application to us. We are now free. We are now *all* free. Both master and slave are now emancipated. But we are still, gentlemen, to a certain extent in your power, and we need not assure you with what deep concern we are watching *all* your deliberations, but especially those that have reference to us.

We would ask your Honorable Body for the right of suffrage, and the right of testifying in courts of law. These two things we deem necessary to our welfare and elevation. They are the rights of every freeman, and are inherent and essential to every republican form of government.

Our appeal is based upon justice. But we do not rely solely upon that. We appeal to your generosity. We are oppressed and powerless. It is in your power to do us justice, and grant us the opportunity of elevating ourselves. A gracious and all-wise Providence has placed it in your power to decide whether our future shall be gilded with hope or darkened by despair; whether you will become the generous helpers of those just emerging from a degrading servitude into the blessed light of liberty, or place further obstacles in their path.

We do sincerely hope that you will grant your petitioners their desires. We are natives of this State, and are deeply attached to our homes. We have lived together peacefully, heretofore, and we feel assured that nothing is needed to render our future relations mutually beneficial but the bestowment of the rights we ask.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c.

Signed per order, and in behalf of the Convention,

THOMAS M. HOLMES, President.

JOHN C. DES VERNEY, Secretary.

Charleston, S. C., Nov. 24, 1865.

ADDRESS OF THE STATE CONVENTION

TO THE WHITE INHABITANTS OF THE STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: We have here assembled as delegates representing the colored people of the State of South Carolina, in the capacity of a State Convention, to confer together and to deliberate upon our intellectual, moral, industrial, civil and political condition, and particularly our condition as affected by the great changes which have recently taken place in this State and throughout this whole country, to declare our sentiments, and to devise ways and means which may, through the blessing of God, tend to our improvement, elevation, and progress, fully believing that our cause is one which commends itself to the hearts of all good men throughout the civilized world; that it is the sacred cause of truth and righteousness; that it particularly appeals to those professing to be governed by that faith which teaches that "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

These principles we conceive to embody the great duty of man to his fellow-man; and as men, we only ask to be included in the practical application of this principle. We feel that the *justness* of our cause is a sufficient apology for our course at this time.

Heretofore, we have had no avenues opened to us or our children. We have had no firesides that we might call our own—none of those incentives to work for the development of our minds and the aggrandizement of our race in common with other people. The measures which have been devised for the development of white men's children have been denied to us. The laws which have made white men powerful have degraded us, because we were black, and because we were reduced to the condition of chattels; but now that we are freemen, now that we are elevated, by the Providence of God, to manhood, we have resolved to stand up, and, like men, speak and act for ourselves. We fully recognize the truth of the maxim, "The gods help those who help themselves."

In making this appeal to you, we adopt the language of the immortal Declaration of Independence, that "all men are created equal," and that "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" are the right of all; that taxation and representation should go together; that governments are ordained to protect, and not to subvert, the rights of man; that the Constitution of the United States was framed "to establish justice, to promote the *general* welfare, and to secure the blessings of liberty" to *all* the people of the land; that "resistance to tyrants is obedience to God," are all American principles and maxims, and, taken together, they form the constructive elements of the American Government.

We think we fully comprehend and duly appreciate the principles and measures which compose this platform; and all we desire or ask for is to be placed in a position where we could conscientiously and legitimately defend, with you, those principles against the sorges of despotism, to the last drop of our blood. We have not come together in battle array, to "assume a boastful attitude, and to talk loudly of high-sounding principles, or of unmeaning platitudes; nor do we pretend to any great boldness; for we remember your former wealth and greatness, and we know our poverty and weakness;" and although we feel keenly our wrongs, still we come together, we trust, in a spirit of meekness and of patriotic good-will toward all the people of the State. But yet it is some consolation to know, and it inspires us with hope when we reflect, that our cause is not alone the cause of four millions of black men in this country, but we are intensely alive to the fact that it is also the cause of millions of oppressed men in other "parts of God's beautiful earth," who are now struggling to be free in the fullest sense of the word, and God and nature are pledged to their triumph. We are Americans by birth, and we assure you that we are Americans in feeling; and in spite of all the wrongs which we have so long and silently endured in this country, we can yet exclaim, with a full heart, "O, America, with all thy faults, we love thee still!"

"Breathes there a man with soul so dead,
That never to himself hath said,
'This is my own, my native land?'
Whose heart hath ne'er within him burned,
As home his footsteps he hath turned
From wandering on a foreign strand?"

Thus we would address you, not as rebels and enemies, but as friends and fellow-countrymen, who desire to dwell among you in peace, and whose destinies are interwoven and linked with those of the whole American people, and hence must be fulfilled in this country. As descendants of a race feeble and long-oppressed, we might with propriety appeal to a great and magnanimous people like the American for special favor and encouragement, on the principle that the strong should aid the weak, and that the learned should teach the unlearned. But it is for no such purpose that we raise our voices to the people of South Carolina on this occasion. We ask for no special privileges or peculiar favors. We ask only for *even-handed justice*—for the removal of such positive obstructions and disabilities as past and recent legislation has thrown in our way and heaped upon us. Without any just cause or provocation on our part, we, by the action of your Convention and Legislature, have, with few exceptions, been virtually excluded—

First: From the rights of citizenship, which you cheerfully accord to strangers, notwithstanding we have been born and reared in your midst, and were faithful while your greatest trials were upon you, and have done nothing since which could justly merit your disapprobation.

Second: We are denied the right of giving our testimony in the courts of the State, in consequence of which our persons and property are subject, the former to every species of violence and insult, and the latter to fraud and spoliation without redress.

Third: We are also, by the present laws, not only denied the right of citizenship—the inestimable right of choosing who shall rule over us in the land of our birth—but by the so-called "Black Code," we are deprived of the rights which are vouchsafed to the lowest white profligate in the country—the right to engage in any legitimate business, save under such unjust restraints as are imposed on no other class of people in the State.

Fourth: You have, by legislative action, placed barriers in the way of our improvement in the arts and sciences. You have given us little or no encouragement to engage in agricultural pursuits, by refusing to sell us lands, while you are organizing societies to bring foreigners into the country, the clear intent of which is to thrust us out, or reduce us to a serfdom intolerable to us, and, as you will find in the end, ruinous to your own prosperity.

Fifth: Your public journals wickedly charge us with destroying the products of the country since we have been made free, when they know that the country, and the products thereof, were destroyed by a desolating war of four years, in which we had no hand. How unjust to charge upon the innocent and helpless the very crimes which yourselves have committed, and which brought down ruin upon your own heads!

Sixth: We simply ask that we shall be recognized *as men*; that there be no obstructions placed in our way; that the same laws which govern *white men* shall govern *black men*; that we have the right of trial by a jury of our own *peers*; that schools be established for the education of *colored children* as well as *white*, and that the advantages of both colors shall, in this respect, be *equal*; that no impediments be put in the way of our acquiring homesteads for ourselves and our people; that, in short, we be dealt with as others are—in equity and justice.

Seventh: We claim that we deserve the confidence and good will of all classes of men. We ask that the same opportunities be extended to us that freemen have a right to demand at the hands of their fellow-citizens. We desire the growth and prosperity of this State, and the well-being of all men, and we would be found ever struggling to elevate ourselves, and add to the glory of the national character. We trust that the day is not far distant when you will acknowledge that our progress in social, intellectual, moral, and religious development entitles us to the highest commendation and respect, and that we shall be worthy to occupy, with the best in the land, positions of trust and power; when we shall realize the great truth that "all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights," and that, although complexions may differ, "a man's a man for a' that."

Signed per order, and in behalf of the Convention,

THOMAS M. HOLMES, President.

JOHN C. DES VERNEY, Secretary.

MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled:

GENTLEMEN: We, the colored people of South Carolina, in convention assembled, respectfully present, for your attention, some prominent facts in relation to our present condition, and make a modest, yet earnest appeal to your considerate judgment.

We, your memorialists, with profound gratitude to Almighty God, recognize the great boon of freedom conferred upon us by the instrumentality of our late President, Abraham Lincoln, and the armies of the United States—

"The fixed decree, which not all heaven can move,
Thou, Fate, fulfil it, and, ye powers, approve."

We also recognize, with liveliest gratitude, the vast service of the Freedmen's Bureau, together with the efforts of the good and wise throughout our land, to raise up an oppressed and deeply-injured people in the scale of civilized beings during the throbbings of a mighty revolution, which must affect the future destiny of the world.

Conscious of the difficulties that surround our position, we would ask for no right or privilege but such as rest upon the strong basis of justice and expediency, in view of the best interests of our entire country.

We ask, first, that the strong arm of law and order be placed *alike* over the entire people of this State; that life and property be secure, and the laborer as free to sell his labor as the merchant his goods.

We ask that a fair and impartial construction be given to the pledges of Government to us concerning the land question.

We ask that the three great agents of civilized society—the school, the pulpit, the press—be as secure in South Carolina as in Massachusetts or Vermont.

We ask that equal suffrage be conferred upon us, in common with the white men of this State.

This we ask, because all free governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; and we are largely in majority in this State, bearing for a long period the burden of an odious taxation without a just representation.

We ask for equal suffrage as a protection from hostility evoked by our known faithfulness to our country's flag during the Slaveholders' Rebellion.

We ask that colored men shall not, in every instance, be tried by white men, and that neither by custom nor enactment shall we be excluded from the jury-box.

We ask that, inasmuch as the Constitution of the United States *explicitly* declares that the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed, and the Constitution is the supreme law of the land, that the late efforts of the Legislature of this State, to pass an act to deprive us of arms be *forbidden*, as a plain violation of the Constitution, and unjust to many of us in the *highest* degree, who have been soldiers, and purchased our muskets from the United States Government when mustered out of the service.

We protest against any code of black laws the Legislature of this State has enacted, or may hereafter enact, and pray to be governed by the same laws that control other *men*. The right to assemble in peaceful convention to discuss the political questions of the day; the right to enter upon all avenues of trade, commerce, agriculture, to amass wealth by thrift and industry; the right to develop our *whole being*, by all the appliances that belong to civilized society, cannot be questioned by any class of intelligent legislators.

We solemnly affirm our desire to live orderly and peacefully with all the people of this State, and commending this memorial to your considerate judgment, thus we ever pray.

Signed per order and in behalf of Convention,

THOMAS M. HOLMES, President.

JOHN C. DES VERNEY, Secretary.

Charleston, S. C., Nov. 24, 1865.

I am requested to name the authors of the Memorial, Address to the Legislature of South Carolina, Address to the People of South Carolina, and the Bill of Rights and Wrongs, as follows: They are all colored men: Jonathan C. Gibbs—Memorial to Congress of the United States; F. J. Cardoza—Legislature of South Carolina; E. J. Adams—Rights and Wrongs; R. H. Cain—Address to the People of South Carolina.—*Cor. N. Y. Tribune.*

☞ The Washington correspondent of the *Evening Post*,—the same who, until recently, for many years was correspondent of the *Anti-Slavery Standard*,—writes thus:

"It is believed here that a majority of the people of the rebellious States are determined not to protect the freedmen in their rights. The disposition seems to be to insult the President and Congress by returning the most offensive rebels. This is the view taken of the matter by Mr. Colfax and other prominent members of the new Congress; consequently, they are determined that Southern claimants to seats shall remain outside till better evidence is given that the people of the South are loyal.

Congress will act upon the theory that the war is not ended. It is precisely the ground occupied by the President and every one of the departments of the government. Volunteers not yet discharged have repeatedly demanded their discharge in compliance with their terms of enlistment, and the invariable reply is, 'The war is not yet closed.' The Treasury Department also holds, in reference to the payment of bounties, that the war still exists. The President, while he protects the freedmen with the bayonet, does it under the theory that the war has not come to an end. That is, time enough has not elapsed to satisfy the President and Congress that the people of the South are steadfastly loyal.

Prominent Republicans, who have had interviews with the President within a few days, assert confidently that he agrees with the average sentiment of Congress upon the subject of reconstruction. At a Cabinet meeting held on Friday last, the President expressed himself in strong terms of disapprobation of the South, because of its apparent refusal to accept the terms of reconstruction held out. The defeat of nearly all Union candidates, and the nomination of the worst rebels to office, he regards as indicating anything but a loyal spirit, and while the late rebellious South remains in this dangerous mood, the troops will not be withdrawn."

FORD DOUGLAS.

The news of the death of Dr. McCune Smith and Captain H. Ford Douglas will afflict those who knew these zealous laborers in the cause of Equal Rights. Both were colored men, and both did good service in the days when their brethren were held in recognized and Bible-defended slavery under the flag of the Union. But it is of the younger of the two we wish particularly to speak.

We cannot give the date of the birth, the graduation, etc., of Ford Douglas; they have never been inserted in any of those encyclopædias and dictionaries where white men of far inferior genius and renown are dated and registered like the specimens of an antiquarian. Somewhere in the South, some thirty years ago, the white blood of the oppressor, mingling with the darker blood of the oppressed, gave birth to a child showing the power and sensibilities of both. This child was not trained in kindergartens, drilled in Latin schools, or graduated at any university, save that which nature and the Divine Providence have endowed for the education of those who have no higher lineage than to be called sons of Adam. In this school, not without tears and blows, he learned all that is essential to manly character and sound intelligence, but he could read no language except his father's, and that not so correctly as many of us.

But when he came forward—who knows how?—to add one more voice to the cry that ascended to Heaven against the iniquity of America, it was found that he had, by some means, acquired the gift of eloquence, so that what he said fell gracefully and lay long in the minds of those who heard him. This child of oppression and neglect had the aspect of a scholar and the oratory of a senator.

Above all, he had courage. With a heart quivering to all the feminine impulses which make the tenderness and the sorrow of his race, he was as fearless as the haughtiest planter from whom he may have traced his descent. He had shown this quality before the war to the few who knew him; now it bears the stamp of battle, and has been tested by the soldier's standard. He rose to be a captain among the men of his own color who fought under the old flag; and it may be that he owes his death to the hardships of his campaigns.

Such a man, if born of the more fortunate class, would have won the renown of a Barlow or a Winthrop, for he had the qualities that assure it. Obscure as his career was, it deserves, at least, the notice which we here give it.—*Commonwealth.*

MISSISSIPPI. The bill conferring certain civil rights upon freedmen passed the Mississippi House on the 21st of November, with a substitute for the fourth section. Freedmen are allowed to testify and be witnesses when a party to the record, but not in cases exclusively between white men. The vote was fifty-six to thirty.

THE ORDER SUSPENDING THE WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS PARTIALLY REVOKED.

A PROCLAMATION BY THE PRESIDENT.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 30. The following proclamation has been issued by the President:

"Whereas, By the proclamation of the President of the United States, of the 15th day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* in certain cases therein specified was suspended throughout the United States; and,

Whereas, reasons for that suspension may be regarded as having ceased in some of the States and Territories; now,

Therefore, be it known that I, Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, do hereby proclaim and declare that the suspension aforesaid, and all the proclamations and orders suspending the privilege of the writ of *Habeas Corpus* in the States and Territories of the United States be revoked and annulled, excepting as to the States of Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas, the District of Columbia, the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

[L. S.] Dated first of December.

ANDREW JOHNSON.

By the President,

WM. H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

THE PARDONING BUSINESS. The Washington *Star* of Tuesday says:

"Notwithstanding the order of the President directing that no more pardon warrants be issued at present, applicants continue to flock in upon the Attorney-General. Among those who called this morning were R. M. T. Hunter, and the Rebel Generals Terrill of Texas and Brown of Tennessee. Included in the list of applications for pardon which have been filed away for future consideration, are the petitions of one hundred and twenty-two ex-officers of the United States navy, one hundred and twenty-nine rebel general officers, and eighty-eight members of the Confederate Congress. There is also a large list of the rebel leaders, including George Davis, Attorney-General, Trenholm, Secretary of the Treasury, Seddon, Secretary of War, Mallory, Secretary of the Navy, and Reagan, Postmaster-General of the Confederates; A. H. Stephens, their Vice President; Governors Smith and Letcher, of Virginia, Lowe, of Maryland, McGrath, of South Carolina, Moore, of Alabama, and Clark, of Mississippi. There are also several large petitions for the release of Jeff. Davis, which with the others are filed away with the mass of documents accumulated at the Pardon Bureau, to await developments. Many of the applications for pardon are endorsed by our own generals and senators.

CENSUS STATISTICS. According to the census report for 1860, there were then established on our wide domain over two millions and forty-four thousand farmers; our cities and villages were twenty-eight thousand, containing a fraction less than five millions of houses; our manufactories were one hundred and forty thousand, while now machine shops loom up in every direction in almost countless numbers. In the year 1810, the aggregate manufacturing of certain specified articles amounted to $198,613,471, and in 1860, the value of the same branches of industry, according to the census tables, was $1,885,861,676; and, allowing a moderate estimate for omissions and for non return of minor establishments, we reach the enormous sum of two thousand millions of dollars, having been multipled ten times within the fifty years ending in 1860, whilst our population in the same period has increased four-and-a-half fold. We have within our boundaries an area of three and a quarter millions of square miles, and a coast line by river, lake and ocean of twenty-nine thousand three hundred and twenty-eight miles.—*Boston Journal.*

GOVERNOR PARSONS ON PROTECTING THE FREEDMEN. Gov. Parsons of Alabama seems to have gained some new ideas in his recent trip North, for, in his message to the Alabama Legislature, he speaks of legislating for the freedmen in a better vein than most other Southern Governors. He says:

"I have come to the conclusion that our interests as a people, especially of the white race, will be promoted by the passage of an act declaring that freedmen shall have the same measure of protection which our laws secure to our non voting white population. This, with the adoption of vagrant laws similar, in most respects, to those of Massachusetts, will demonstrate to the world that we are honestly endeavoring to meet both aspects of our new condition.

"The idea of requiring a freedman to carry a pass at any time, but especially in time of peace, that he shall not be at liberty to hire himself for a less period than a month, and that he shall not be permitted to have a *light* in his dwelling after any given hour, is not only inconsistent with our American notions of freedom, but is utterly at war with them. Liberty and the 'Curfew' cannot exist together.

"The people of Alabama, in Convention assembled, have forever prohibited slavery—in so doing, they have forever established liberty! Let us boldly, watchfully, and with unfaltering purpose pursue the grand idea."

JAMAICA. The London *Daily News* is indignant with the tone of the military despatches and newspaper correspondence from Jamaica, which, it thinks, "proves that the ferocity we denounce in savages can take possession of English hearts, and mercy and justice can be forgotten by English officers as thoroughly as by Indians or Cossacks."

The London *Times*, on the other hand, characteristically says, the authorities of Jamaica have acted with commendable promptness, the chief rebels having been tried by martial law and at once executed.

REV. DR. MASSIE. Dr. Massie, of London, delivered a most admirable lecture at the Cooper Institute, on the condition and wants of freedmen, stating that he had travelled through the South and observed them closely, and expressing the conviction that they should be allowed to give evidence and exercise the right of suffrage. The doctor has been, for many years, the eloquent and consistent advocate of every enterprise for human amelioration, as well in his own country as abroad. Both himself and the late Mrs. Massie have been long known to this country as faithful Abolitionists, and when the war broke forth in 1861, the Doctor entered with full sympathy for the North into the contest, in a firm faith that out of the storm of battle would come the redemption of the enslaved. Greatly gratified with his visit here, he sailed for his home on Saturday, from which he has been absent about four months.—*A. S. Standard.*

END OF THE HAYTIEN REBELLION.—CAPE HAYTIEN DESTROYED. *New York, Nov. 30th.* Advices from Havana state that the ex-Emperor Soulouque, of Hayti, had arrived at Santiago De Cuba, en route to St. Thomas, having been expelled from Jamaica.

Cape Haytien had been bombarded by two English war vessels, and reduced to ashes. Geffrard's troops are in possession of the ruins. Many of the rebels perished and the rest fled. The insurrection in Hayti has terminated.

Under orders from Spain, all negroes landed from slavers are to be returned to Africa.

NEW YORK, Nov. 30. Washington despatches say the officers of the Pension Bureau are convinced that a large number of persons in New England and the Western States are palming themselves off upon the people entitled to pensions, as licensed agents of the Bureau.

The surgeon having charge of the freedmen in North Carolina reports that during the last three years there were great inroads upon the blacks by yellow fever and small-pox. The mortality at Fort Hudson, one of the largest colonies of the State, was unprecedented. During the raging of the fever last spring, over 2000 died in less than two months. Now, however, their sanitary condition is constantly improving.

DEATH OF MRS. GASKELL. A very wide circle of readers in America, including some who have enjoyed the hospitalities of Mrs. Gaskell's home, will learn with regret of the death of that estimable lady, on the 11th of November. We find in the London *Daily News* of the 14th the following brief notice of the sad event:

"It is with regret that we have to announce the death of a lady who, besides being loved and esteemed by a large circle of friends, was also one of the most popular writers of the day. Mrs. Elizabeth Cleghorn Gaskell died suddenly at her house at Alton on Sunday last. She was the wife of a Unitarian minister residing at Manchester, and was born early in the present century. Her first work, 'Mary Barton,' a picture of Manchester life among the working classes, appeared anonymously in 1848. 'The Moorland Cottage,' a simple little Christmas book, followed in 1850. Two years later appeared another novel called 'Ruth.'

Mrs. Gaskell likewise published some sketches of life in a village, which were contributed to *Household Words* under the title of 'Cranford'; and more recently a tale of two volumes, called 'North and South,' in which she returned to the manufacturing districts of Yorkshire, and carried her readers through the painful details of a 'strike.' In 1857, she published a life of Charlotte Bronté."

WASHINGTON, Nov. 24. Dr. Powell, the State Agent of North Carolina, who recently arrived at Raleigh, was the bearer of a letter from Secretary Seward to Governor Holden, in which the following passage occurs:

"The President sincerely trusts that North Carolina will, by her Legislature, promptly accept the Congressional Amendment of the Constitution of the United States abolishing slavery. He relies upon you to exercise all your functions as heretofore, with the same wisdom and the same spirit of loyalty and devotion to the Union that has marked your administration hitherto. The President desires you to feel entirely assured that your efforts to sustain the administration of the government, and give effect to its policy, are fully appreciated, and that they will in no case be forgotten."

PEACE MEETING.

☞ An Informal Conference concerning Peace will be held on Tuesday, December 12th, at 10 o'clock, A. M., in Room No. 4, 158 Washington street, Boston. Distinguished friends of the cause will be present, and all interested to unite in an effort for the immediate abolition of War are cordially invited to attend.

☞ AUSTIN KENT TO HIS FRIENDS.—I have 600 copies of my small work on Conjugal Love. I know many to have highly prized it. Inflammatory rheumatism has crippled me. I have not stepped upon my feet for eight years, nor fed myself for over three. I may live some years, but shall never do either again. I cannot attend to the advertising and sale of the book. I am poor. If any person or persons will prepay and get them in small or large numbers, for sale or gratuitous circulation, I will sell them for half what it will now cost to print them, and for less, if I must. Whoever writes will send stamp for return postage.

AUSTIN KENT.

East Stockholm, St. Lawrence Co., N. Y., Oct 24.

A NEW RELIGIOUS MAGAZINE.

The Radical

PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY S. H. MORSE,

BOSTON, MASS.

THE publication of THE RADICAL was commenced in obedience to a recognized need for a popular Magazine which should be devoted to the discussion and presentation of the advanced religious convictions of the present time. The encouraging response which has already greeted the publisher, from a large number of people, in all parts of the country, is the assurance that the publication was well timed.

THE RADICAL is a Magazine presenting the thoughts of able and disinterested writers. It has no sectarian bias, but welcomes truth from whatever source it may come. "It is," as a city journal has stated, "a Magazine for all earnest people who are not too closely wedded to their own ideas to tolerate freedom of inquiry and earnest discussion."

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S. H. MORSE, Editor.

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The world has much to say about the temporal and the eternal. By this it means a division of worlds. This side the grave, means temporal. The side beyond the grave, means eternal. Politics, Art, Literature, Philosophy, Science, are of this world—also morality, and are all temporal. Its Religion, as Coleridge said, is "other-worldliness." Shall we not find a better distinction? Shall we not so interpret religion that we can let the other world rest until our fortunes of life lands us there as dwellers—making this world as sacred as the next shall be; life as little to be despised here, as it shall be in any hereafter? Phillippsohn, the able Jewish writer, makes it his chief argument against Christianity, that it renders this world mean and contemptible by its dismal strain of immortality—dismal to its unfortunate soul, because it reveals in the great mass of mankind who are cheating it, a thought so entirely selfish. So far as Christianity can be made responsible for this "dismal strain of future life," it must go under condemnation. Jesus, however, was not a "Christian." He cut the One-world apart as regards this world. His "this world" meant sacrifice, pretension, illusion, show, hypocrisy, sham. His "Eternal life," was quality of life, and not duration or place of existence. "Love God with mind and heart, and your neighbor as yourself." That was all he said. Tear down the partition wall and you have One World and Eternity already with you. To live in this great Eternity, and, forgetting little or great private aims, (which are *temporal*, for they must be set aside for the common weal,) to work with a whole devotion to truth as to universal ends, is that marriage of Man with God, which in all places and forever must be, for man, his *Religion*! Herein are all callings of life ennobled. The True, the Beautiful, the Good: devotion to these as they everywhere appear, revealing the True, Beautiful, and Good Providence, is Religion. This Religion can be subtracted from no department. It is the one Reality. It is the Life of Art, of Philosophy, of all Literature, of Politics, even; so far as these have life, Religion supplies. It is the Life of all life that shall not perish!—ED.

Address, S. H. MORSE, at HAVERHILL, MASS. Send 20 cents for specimen numbers.

FOR THE YEAR 1866!

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Nov. 10.

Poetry.

SUFFRAGE.

A RHYME FOR THE PEOPLE.

Give a man his *freedom*,
And then withhold his *rights!*
That's a kind of Liberty
That wouldn't do for *Whites*.
"'Tis well enough for *Niggers*,"
The shameless logic reads;
—*Now out* upon such sophistries,
Such anti-human creeds!
Chorus—For 'tis black hand and white hand—
And God made both—
And the hand that holds a musket
Is fit to hold a *vote*;
They've helped us conquer Treason,
And take it by the throat;
And the hand that holds a musket
Is fit to hold a vote.

They've poured their blood like water
To save the country's cause;
And yet, they haven't earned the right
To help us make the Laws!
For blows they've brought us blessing;
For scourging and for scars,
They've helped redeem the dear old flag,
And blessed stripes and stars!
Chorus—And 'tis black hand and white hand, etc.

The sweat and toil of ages
Is on their dusky brow—
Oh, brothers! let our hearts be strong
To do them justice now!
'Tis all they ask us—*Justice!*—
The sacred right of man—
So long withheld!—the tardy chance
To do the best they can!
Chorus—For 'tis black hand and white hand, etc.

Then here's a toast to end with:
The Suffrage of the Free!
For what were Life or Freedom else,
To him, or you, or me?
So here's a toast to end with,
And give it three times three:
The rights of all men, black and white!
The suffrage of the Free!
Chorus—For 'tis black hand and white hand—
And God made both—
And the hand that holds a musket
Is fit to hold a vote;
They've helped us conquer Treason,
And take it by the throat;
And the hand that holds a musket
Is fit to hold a vote.

—*Anti-Slavery Standard.* C. A. R.

THE CHOLERA.

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED TO OUR CITY OFFICIALS.

Over the land and over the sea
A strange cry ringeth horribly,
And strong men shudder fearingly
At the cry of a demon from over the sea:—

"I've crossed the land, and over the sea
My bark is scudding merrily,
'Westward, ho!' so cheerily,
With a freight of death from over the sea."

It has fled with the summer over the sea,
It has rustled away with the autumn leaves,
It has finished the harvest and bound the sheaves,
It has "gathered them in," and filled the graves
Of city and hamlet, over the sea.

'Tis surely coming, over the sea,
And the pestilence lurks in the filthy street,
In the garbage heaps that swine won't eat,
And reeking alleys and dung-hills great
The hungry ghoul from over the sea.

It has reached our land, over the sea,
This monster, wan and fierce and grim,
And the pallid heart and the trembling limb
Are choicest meat and food for him
Who comes to his banquet over the sea.

Oh, do you not hear them, from over the sea,
Cry *shame!* to men to wisdom dead,
To the addled brains and hearts of lead,
That prate and wait till hope hath fled,
And the pestilence walketh this side of the sea!

Oh, Fathers of Cities, this side of the sea,
Will you wait till the time has passed,
Wait till the pestilence binds us fast,
Wait till the *Cholera* rides on the blast,
Breathing death on this side of the sea?

Gird up your loins, this side of the sea,
And scrub and sweep and ditch and drain,
Lest the countless dead and the thousands slain,
And the widows' prayer and the orphans' pain
Shall drive you, accursed, beyond the sea.

Over the land and over the sea
A strange cry ringeth horribly:
"Make room for Death and room for me,
We come to your land, over the sea!"

Louisville, Nov. 4, 1865. TIMMY DITTY.

A NEW SONG.

BY ELIZA A. PITTSINGER.

Awake the harp, and thrill the string,
While Freedom's burning numbers ring
Throughout the clime!
For she will ever stand,
Powerful, sublime and grand,
To endless time!
Awake the harp, let music flow!
Let hope and inspiration's glow
Warm every tone!
Oh, catch the glory-beaming sound,
While myriad strains in joy resound
From zone to zone!
Awake, and let its numbers tell
How Treason to its level fell
Beyond the main!
Oh, let a new and rapturous song
In triumph-tones the strain prolong
Above the plain!
Tune, tune the chords to an endless chime
Of joy! oh, swell in glowing rhyme
The Ages grand!
Oh, may we never fail to be
Obedient to that destiny
That sways our land!
Then strike with heavenly zeal each string!
Strike deep the burning chords, and sing
Of glories yet to be!
Oh, sing of Ages yet to rise,
Transfigured 'neath the flashing skies
Of Peace and Liberty!

SAVING FAITH.

BY J. C. L.

Great spirit of renewing truth!
Come shining through our darkened eyes,
And make the tides of light roll in,
To cleanse from error and from sin;
Destroy the refuges of lies.

If any falsehood of the Past
Round us has thrown its iron chain,
Burn through and melt each fettering link,
Ere slaves of Prejudice we sink;
Give us to Freedom once again.

Faith in the Present may we have!
Faith that God lives and works to-day!
Faith that all righteousness prevails,
That Revelation never fails
In souls that work and pray.

O Future, thou art held in trust!
To build for thee a glowing way
Our hearts are pledged; no Past can bind,
No Age's promise is behind—
Set forth! Pursue the mighty day!

—*Radical for October.*

The Liberator.

SOME POPULAR DELUSIONS, THEIR CAUSE, AND THEIR CURE.

I.

Some Popular Delusions.

Certain erroneous ideas are popularly taken for granted in this country, as in other countries called Christian. They are held not only without evidence, and against evidence, but without even the pretence of knowledge on the part of the great majority of those who hold them; since ninety-nine of every hundred of those who receive the ideas referred to, when questioned as to the grounds of their belief, can give no reasons that will for a moment bear examination, but can only refer to the assertions of certain other persons, whom they suppose to be well informed upon the subject.

The ideas here referred to are in the department of religious belief, and are resolutely and strenuously maintained to be true, even by those who can give no reason for them, and even in the face of strong reasons adduced against them.

Some of the erroneous ideas thus popularly held and maintained relate to the Bible. It is really believed by a majority of the people in this country—

1. That the writings of Hebrew authors, collectively known as The Old Testament, are infallibly correct in fact and doctrine.

2. That the writings of Christian authors, collectively known as The New Testament, are infallibly correct in fact and doctrine.

3. That these two agree together, as parts of one system, so that it is possible intelligently to accept all the statements of *both* as true.

4. That all parts of these two books are so homogeneous, and so perfectly accordant with each other, that any affirmation made, or any injunction given, by any part of either, may properly be said to be affirmed or enjoined *by the Bible*.

5. That the writing of all the documents constituting each of these two volumes was miraculously superintended by God.

6. That these two constitute one infallible, sufficient, and obligatory rule of life for Christians.

7. That if both these be not accepted as infallibly correct, both must be rejected as valueless.

8. That, if the mythological portion of either of these works be discredited, their moral and spiritual portions become valueless to the doubter.

9. That statements showing error in any part of the Bible, or absolute contradiction between two parts of it, are an attack *on the Bible*, instead of merely on the clerical hypothesis of its infallible correctness.

10. That the Bible requires the observance of Sunday as a Sabbath.

Others of the erroneous ideas popularly held and maintained relate to Religion. It is really believed by a majority of the people in this country—

11. That God requires Christians to accept the Old and New Testaments as His Word, and as their infallible, sufficient and obligatory rule of life.

12. That God requires Christians to observe Sunday as a Sabbath.

13. That God is pleased with the observance called Public Worship, and that he requires it of men as a duty.

14. That God authorizes the claim made by priests and clergymen that men are bound in duty to attend their Sunday services, yield to their dictation, and contribute to their support.

15. That freedom of thought is dangerous to Religion, and that reason is entitled to less freedom of exercise and fulness of control in Religion than in other matters.

16. That men and women need a mediator or an intercessor to make their supplications or their thanksgivings, their perseverance in right or their repentance of wrong, acceptable to their Heavenly Father.

17. That the Heavenly Father will inflict horrible, vengeful and eternal sufferings on a large portion of his creatures when this life shall have ended, instead of still encouraging and helping them to reform and improve, as he does in this world.

The ideas above specified are taken for granted as true by a great majority of the people of this country. Not one person in a hundred ever thinks of inquiring into the grounds of the current belief. Those who do inquire find certain books existing which undertake to give proof—demonstration—of the truth of these ideas. Of the insufficiency and unsoundness of these attempts at proof I shall speak hereafter. But the majority of men do not take the trouble to read them, or to ask for them. They acquiesce in the religious ideas which existed in the place of their birth and education. They take for granted that which they find taken for granted by the majority of people around them, just as the Hindoos, the Turks and the Chinese do. And, from hearing these ideas constantly assumed as certainly true, they come to assume and affirm them themselves, and will even vehemently argue for them against any questioner. Yet, when the questioner exposes the false, or sophistical, or irrelevant, or insufficient character of the traditional formula they repeat, they are utterly helpless, and can only (like the Hindoo, Turk or Chinese) refer to certain learned professional persons whom they suppose to be able to answer the difficulties in question.

When a missionary of the American Board goes to the scene of his labors in a foreign country, he of course appears, to the people whom he there addresses, as an infidel. They have a religion in which they put entire confidence as the true religion. They are sure it is true, because they have always heard it taught and seen it practised, and because the wisest and best men they have ever known have followed and recommended it, and because the blessing of God has always followed their belief and practice of it. A certain infidel (let it be remembered that each heathen must necessarily look upon the missionary in this light, and call him by this name)—a certain infidel has come among them, declaring his purpose to oppose and try to break down their religion, the true religion, and to put some infidel ideas of his own in its place. They of course take it for granted that he is in the wrong. They probably also assume him to be a bad man.

The infidel-missionary, having a better intellectual training than the average of the heathen whom he addresses, will probably soon refute some error, or expose some absurdity, belonging to their religious system. But he does not thereby change their belief in it. They *know* themselves to be followers of the true religion; since he opposes that, they *know* him to be an infidel. The infidel is learned, and crafty, and wicked. No wonder, they say, that he can puzzle them, plain and simple people that they are. But there is, of course, an answer to what he impudently alleges against the true religion, and the priests know that answer, and can refute the infidel. They therefore send him to the priests for his reply, remain in the mean time entirely unmoved in their conviction of the truth of their religion, and are quite ready to accept the subsequent assurance of their priests that the foreign infidel is a very bad and a very dangerous man.

We speak of these people as strangely and shamefully prejudiced. We think that they ought, when the error of their religion is pointed out, to accept the correction; that they ought to give a candid consideration to the new ideas presented by the foreigner; that they ought not to assume, in advance of examination, either that these new ideas are false, or that he who teaches them is a bad and dangerous man; and we think, especially, that each individual heathen ought to form his own opinion on these matters, instead of pinning his faith on the sleeve of his priest.

But is the practice of the heathen, after all, very different from the practice of the mass of our own people? Can the majority of men and women among us give good reasons for the faith they hold? Are they not obliged, in conversation with any questioner of their dogmas, to admit the insufficiency of their knowledge for the defence of their doctrine, and to fall back upon the assumption that there are, somewhere, books proving the truth of the system popularly received, and clergymen competent to answer the objections in question? Are we materially different, in this respect, from the Hindoos, the Turks, the Chinese?

If all the professors of all the different religions existing on earth should henceforth refuse to examine the merits of any diverse system, and refuse to allow free examination into any alleged defects of their own, it is plain that the progress of the true religion would be greatly obstructed. We consider it a reasonable demand that the Hindoos, the Turks and the Chinese should compare our religion with their own, adopt those features of ours which are manifestly truer and better, and discard those features of theirs which are proved erroneous. But in regard to our own religion, we do not adopt this method. We are as much shocked by variations from our customary religious beliefs and observances, we as readily give an ill name to those who question them, and we as strenuously refuse to submit them to the verdict of reason, after examination of evidence, as any heathen of Asia or Africa.

Surely it is just and reasonable that each should examine for himself the grounds of his own faith, welcome the scrutiny of others in regard to it, and abandon those points of traditional belief which he finds to be indefensible. Surely, if the devotees of every religion would do this, the true religion would advance at a rate never yet witnessed in the world, and every false religion would continually diminish until it became extinct. Surely, a method of procedure so right and so desirable for the devotees of every religion must be right and desirable for professors of the Christian religion, both that which is popularly called so and that which is truly so.

Since, however, the people of this country refuse to adopt the just and rational method above suggested, it seems desirable to set forth plainly (as above) what are some of the indefensible points in the popular faith; to inquire, further, how these errors originated and how they keep their place in spite of the general progress of intelligence in the community; and to inquire also how these errors may be removed; that is to say, how light may be obtained, and progress made, in the departments of theology and religion.

II.

The Cause of these Delusions.

1. The cause why these errors are so largely accepted, and why they remain unchanged in the midst of progress made by the same people in other departments, is because a large body of men, possessing the respect and confidence of the community, are constantly teaching these things *as truth*.

2. These teachers (the clergy) are enabled to persuade men to receive errors as truths, through a habit of the community, from childhood, traditionally to accept their claim to teach by God's authority, and as ambassadors specially commissioned by Him.

3. They are enabled to make this teaching effective by a habit of the community, from childhood, traditionally to accept their claim that God requires men reverently to attend their Sunday services, and *hear* their teaching.

4. The teaching which they incorporate with their Sunday services is further made effective by the people's traditional acceptance of another constant assumption of these clergymen, (in their pretended character of ambassadors from God,) namely; that Reason is "carnal"; that the free exercise of it in religion is dangerous; and that tradition and authority are safer and better guides. They thus accomplish a nullification of Reason, as far as religion is concerned, and displace it from that position of superintendence over the life for which (manifestly) it was created.

5. The Sunday teaching thus forced upon the people through a systematic perversion, by the clergy, of the religious sentiment, must needs have a pernicious effect upon the community, because it poisons the *source* of moral and religious action in each individual who accepts it; persuading him that tradition is a safer guide than Reason, and the implicit following of authority better than the exercise of free thought and individual judgment.

III.

Means towards the Cure of these Delusions.

The one method of dispelling these (as all other delusions) is to give free scope to the exercise of Reason; to recognize the truth of this saying—"He who will not reason is a bigot; he who dares not reason is a coward; he who cannot reason is a fool."

The one method of removing those evils in society which spring from the delusions above mentioned, is practically to *follow* such truth as may be attained by the free exercise of reason.

In recommending a course of conduct to be followed for the purpose here contemplated, I start from this axiom, or self-evident truth, namely:—

Whatever other duties God may require of men, He *certainly* requires them to use, each for himself and herself, as the means of deciding upon any course of action, that Reasoning faculty which He created within them.

Assuming, then, that such individual exercise of Reason, first to decide and then to act, is not only the right but the *duty* of each person, I suggest the following as right and wise means for dispelling the delusions in question.

1. Discontinue attendance on those Sunday services which you find habitually unprofitable to your mind and soul.

2. Satisfy yourself by careful examination of the Old and New Testaments, (in connection with the tract of Rev. Henry Grew, or the Essay of Rt. Rev. Archbishop Whately,) that the Bible contains not the slightest injunction to observe Sunday as a Sabbath; and that, whether or not that book be infallibly inspired by God, it makes no claim upon you for any observance of Sunday whatever, nor for any observance of a Sabbath whatever.

3. Make such use of Sunday (either by rest, recreation or employment) as you shall find really conducive to the welfare of body, mind and soul.

4. Judge, by the free exercise of that Reason which God has given you, and by the search for knowledge wherever it can be found, what old ideas are worth retaining, and what new ones are worth adopting.

5. When you find an idea to be ill founded, or erroneous, guard against the blunder of hastily assuming its opposite to be true. It is much easier to discover an opponent's error, than to be sure of the soundness of one's own position.

(*To be continued.*)

THE END NOT YET.

To the Editor of the Liberator:

It is written that Moses talked with God as with a man, "face to face." Whether this record be accepted in its literal sense or otherwise, it is certain that God has spoken, not only to Moses, but also to all men of all nations, "whether they will hear or whether they will forbear." And woe to that man or that nation who will not hear and *heed* the admonitions of eternal Wisdom and Benevolence!

And most emphatically has He spoken to the people of this land, so that the dullest may hear and understand the command, that here caste must perish.

"I will divide my goods;
Call in the wretched and the slave;
None shall rule but the humble,
And none but toil shall have.
I will have never a noble,
No lineage counted great;
Fishers and choppers and ploughmen
Shall constitute a State."

All the prophets did not die with Jeremiah, nor the "word of the Lord" cease to come to the children of men after Isaiah was "gathered to his fathers." Would that men would hear when the Most High speaks to their souls in the still small voice of conscience! but, alas, it has taken the whirlwind and fire of battle to teach the people of this "model republic" that an aristocracy founded on human slavery was not part of the Divine programme,

"When God uncovered the land
Which he hid of old in the West;"

and now a correspondent of *The Nation* (a paper which should—at least, so it seems to me—rebuke such sentiments) is endeavoring to show how from the terrible debt contracted during the late devastating war, "a sort of aristocracy may be founded"; and he goes on to point out the advantages to be derived from the new order of things in the not impossible future." Hear him, (p. 48, No. 2): "It would create and keep up a more correct taste in art and literature, by giving large numbers of educated persons time and means for its cultivation; and it would communicate greater fixity to habits, modes of thought," &c.

Now, to "create and keep up a correct taste in art and literature" may and would no doubt be very fine, if we do not pay too great a price. But it must be remembered that for every pair of hands that refuses to do its share of the world's work, some other pair must do double duty; so that the increase of people who do nothing for the common weal really diminishes instead of increasing the number of those who have leisure to cultivate a taste for art and literature.

But is it certain that any considerable number of such favored individuals would turn their attention to the fine arts? Is not the man of leisure often the emissary of evil? In the quaint language of Dr. Watts—

"Satan finds some mischief still," &c.

Since the days of William the Conqueror, one family has "floated upon the top wave of English society." As care-free as the lilies of the field that are clothed in splendor and fed right regally without toil or spinning; with wealth to surround itself with all that is worthy and beautiful in art and nature; and with leisure to pursue the paths of science and literature; yet, if in all these centuries it has produced a single poet, painter, sculptor, or historian of eminence, I, at least, have not seen that fact recorded.

"Work out your own salvation," cries inexorable Nature to the child of genius. "It is labor that shall save you from a life of selfish indulgence, very likely from crime."

Gail Hamilton tells us that a man may cultivate the muses upon a diet of oat-meal. Doubtless he can, with better success than Dives, gorged with meat and wine.

Let not the friends of equal rights make haste to lay aside their armor, lest upon the ruins of slavery serfdom be built.

The "good time" is *surely* coming, but the end of oppression is not yet; and to all true reformers I would say, "Watch!" C. G. MORGAN.

Albany, Greene Co., Wis.

SABBATISM IN PHILADELPHIA.

The Philadelphia Presbytery has adopted a resolution denouncing the publication of Sunday newspapers as a desecration of the Sabbath, and calling on the Christian public to abstain from reading or buying them. We are not aware how many Sunday papers are published in that city; but Mr. Forney's long-established daily paper, *The Press*, has just commenced issuing a Sunday edition, and in one of its numbers we find the sensible article here following:—

THE RIGHTS AND THE COMFORTS OF THE WORKING CLASSES.

One of our chief objects in publishing the *Press* on the first day of the week was to furnish such a medium for universal perusal as would be in harmony with the character of the day, and consistent with an earnest desire to promote the well-being of the community at large, and especially of those controlling classes who labor from Monday morning until Saturday night. This is the second number of our Sunday Journal. The first was commended for the variety of its information, the freshness of its intelligence, the good temper of its discussions, and what we trust we made prominently clear, the decency and decorum of its contents generally. This results not only from habit and from a willingness to conform to good breeding and to good taste, but to do nothing which might, in the slightest degree, offend the sensibilities of those who do not think such a journal should be published on such a day. We trust to be able in a short time to satisfy even those citizens who say they will not read the *Sunday Press*. Acting upon this principle, we hope to do an amount of good which will command their candid and their spontaneous approval.

There is one subject which, though much spoken of in private, has yet received no formal public utterance. *We allude to travel on the city passenger railroads at certain specified hours on the first day of the week.* Reflection and some experience have convinced us, that not only the rights but the interests of the great body of our working population require, if they do not demand, that what has been successfully tried and continues to be beneficially maintained in other cities, shall no longer be denied to them in Philadelphia. The argument is as old as civilization, that those who contribute most to the solid strength of the State should be chiefly protected by the laws; and we regret to say that it is no less true that the masses who labor are too frequently left to suffer by those who should administer government mainly in their interest. It is unnecessary that we should state the reasons why facilities for intercommunication should be made easy and cheap on Sunday in this metropolis. The very statement of the necessity is its own best argument. But now that we are discussing preventive and remedial measures in expectation of the cholera, it is proper to remember, and to act upon the remembrance, that of the nearly seven hundred thousand souls between the Delaware and the Schuylkill, a very large and overwhelming majority find in fact that

"Sunday shines no Sabbath unto them."

Who has not witnessed with sorrow the scenes in the stifling alleys of our city, swollen with all manner of people, living in subterranean and crowded tenements, forced for utter absence of means to breathe the poisonous air of localities from which they could not stray unless to fall into dissipation, with all its attendant vices? Call to mind, if you please, the nights at which you have shuddered in the hot and sultry evenings of July and August, in years gone by, and think of the poor children either kept confined in close and airless houses, or driven out into the torrid and gleaming sun of the streets. The Pharisee, who prates of moral and religious culture to such as these, should recollect that it is a primary necessity to strengthen the body, and that they are badly fitted to receive moral maxims when the sights, sounds and enjoyments of nature itself are almost absolutely denied to them.

Enough for the present to state that, in spite of all objections, such cities as Boston, New York, Chicago, Washington, Pittsburg, Cincinnati and New Orleans, have formally incorporated the system for which we plead among their municipal observances, and that it has worked well and has received the tacit if not the express approval of the great religious bodies. We speak of an experience of several years in Washington, where the *Sunday Chronicle*, started in 1861, owned by the Editor and Proprietor of the *Press*, advocated, at first in the midst of clamor, that which we now commend to our legislators and the railway companies here. There is not in the United States a more quiet and exemplary city on the Sabbath-day than the city of Washington. The cars run every hour, and until late at night. They convey crowds to and from the different churches, and more than one of the conscientious clergymen who opposed not only the Sunday *Chronicle*, but the use of the city Passenger Railroads on that day, now read the first because it is not unworthy of their regard, and frankly admit that they preach to fuller congregations, in consequence of the accommodations furnished by these public conveyances. That which we anticipate with intense solicitude for our own people here, is presented as a most joyous spectacle there. We mean the facilities afforded to the families of the working men to visit the beautiful suburbs of Washington, and the splendid rural resorts open to all in the neighborhood of Georgetown. It is only necessary to suggest how such an opportunity would be embraced, in a great population like ours, with the superior advantages in our immediate vicinity. We now leave the subject, to be resumed in the same spirit on another occasion.

Since the above was written, the Sabbatical contest in Philadelphia has made progress, as follows:—

After the first Sunday issue of Col. Forney's *Press*, "The Preachers' Meeting of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia and vicinity" appointed three of its members a Committee to propose to the editor a discontinuance of his experiment. Their letter and his reply are printed in the *Press* of Nov. 28th.

They first appeal to him "as a believer in the Christian religion," quietly making the false assumption usually made by clergymen, that the publication of a paper on Sunday violates some rule of Christianity. They (judiciously) decline to present "an argument touching the great law of the Sabbath," and yet the pretence that there is such a law, and a law addressed to Christians, and binding upon them, is the animating spirit of the whole letter. They then (strange to say) proceed to address him as if he were a Jew, quoting the reproaches of Jewish prophets, contained in the Hebrew Scriptures, against Jewish violators of the Jewish "Fourth Commandment," as if that bore any relation to the matter in question! As if the rebuke which rightly censured the Jew for Saturday labor (a thing forbidden by the Jewish law) was of equal force against the Christian for Sunday labor, a thing not forbidden either by Jewish or Christian law! Their letter closes by intimating (more clerically than logically) that, unless he follows their counsel, he must expect "the displeasure and curse of Almighty God."

Col. Forney's reply treats the Committee with great forbearance, abstaining from comment on the theological absurdity of their position. He, however, gives them a gentle touch of the *argumentum ad hominem*, telling them that they know very well that the Sunday paper to which they object is written and printed by Saturday labor, while the Monday paper to which they do not object is written and printed by Sunday labor. He intimates that the moral character of his paper will not suffer by comparison with that of the papers that call themselves "religious," and he intends to continue the course thus commenced, for these two reasons; he thinks that there is a public demand for it, and also that the true welfare of the public, intellectual and moral, will be promoted by it.

We shall see what move will next be made by the Reverend upholders of Sunday rest on false pretences.—C. K. W.

Ayer's Pills.

ARE you sick, feeble and complaining? Are you out of order, with your system deranged and your feelings uncomfortable? These symptoms are often the prelude to serious illness. Some fit of sickness is creeping upon you, and should be averted by a timely use of the right remedy. Take Ayer's Pills, and cleanse out the disordered humors—purify the blood, and let the fluids move on unobstructed in health again. They stimulate the functions of the body into vigorous activity, and purify the system from the obstructions which make disease. A cold settles somewhere in the body, and deranges its natural functions. These, if not relieved, react upon themselves and the surrounding organs, producing general aggravation, suffering and derangement. While in this condition, take Ayer's Pills, and see how directly they restore the natural action of the system, and with it the buoyant feeling of health again. What is true and so apparent in this trivial and common complaint is also true in many of the deep-seated and dangerous distempers. The same purgative effect expels them. Caused by similar obstructions and derangements of the natural functions of the body, they are rapidly, and many of them surely cured by the same means. None who know the virtues of these Pills will neglect to employ them when suffering from the disorders they cure, such as Headache, Foul Stomach, Dysentery, Bilious Complaints, Indigestion, Derangement of the Liver, Costiveness, Constipation, Heartburn, Rheumatism, Dropsy, Worms and Suppression, when taken in large doses.

They are sugar-coated, so that the most sensitive can take them easily, and they are surely the best purgative medicine yet discovered.

AYER'S AGUE CURE,

For the speedy and certain Cure of Intermittent Fever, or Chills and Fever, Remittent Fever, Chill Fever, Dumb Ague, Periodical Headache, or Bilious Headache, and Bilious Fevers; indeed, for the whole class of diseases originating in biliary derangement, caused by the malaria of miasmatic countries.

This remedy has rarely failed to cure the severest cases of Chills and Fever, and it has this great advantage over other Ague medicines, that it subdues the complaint without injury to the patient. It contains no quinine or other deleterious substance, nor does it produce quinism or any injurious effect whatever. Shaking brothers of the army and the West, try it, and you will endorse these assertions.

Prepared by J. C. AYER & CO., Lowell, Mass., and sold by all druggists.

Oct. 13 3m.

LESSONS IN ORNITHOLOGY.

PARLOR CLASSES.

GRACEANNA LEWIS will give Instruction in the NATURAL HISTORY OF BIRDS, to Schools and Private Classes of Ladies and Gentlemen.

It is not intended, by these Lessons, merely to interest and amuse the learner, but while these objects will be kept in view, efforts will also be made to use the feathered tribes in all their beauty and attractiveness, as a means of affording an insight of the wonderful Order found in every portion of creation.

The familiar Habits of Birds; their Manner of Flight; their Migrations; their Songs; their Guiding Instincts; their Affections; their Nests and Eggs; their Plumage, with its exquisite colors and ornamentation; Microscopic Examinations of the Down of the Young, and the General Structure and Classification of Birds, will be treated of, as well as the relations of Physical Causes to the Residences of Birds; their Geographical Distribution, and their importance to Agriculture.

Geology, in its connection with Ornithology, will also be considered; and the position of the Class of Birds in the Progressive Order of Creation, so far as revealed by Modern Science, will be made apparent.

Many of the most beautiful or remarkable Birds of the World will be noticed, and their location in the Museum of the Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia, designated.

These Lessons will be finely illustrated by numerous Elegant Engravings, and Specimens of the majority of our common Song Birds may be seen by the Class during the continuance of the Courses, while the subject will be further elucidated by Charts prepared for the purpose.

TERMS, for a Course of Six Lessons, $3.00 each.

Liberal deduction made to schools and classes of over fifty persons. Those who desire lessons will address

GRACEANNA LEWIS,
Care of EDWARD PARRISH,
South west corner of Eighth and South Sts.,
PHILADELPHIA.

TESTIMONIALS:

The undersigned have great pleasure in recommending the Lectures of Miss Graceanna Lewis, as in all respects worthy the confidence and encouragement of persons disposed to study Natural History, and especially Ornithology.

JOHN CASSIN,
Vice-President of the Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia, and author of "Birds of California and Texas," &c., &c., &c.

T. C. PORTER,
President of Franklin Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa.

ISAAC P. TRIMBLE, M. D.,
Author of "Insect Enemies of Fruit and Fruit Trees," and Entomologist of the State Agricultural Society of New Jersey, Newark, N. J.

VINCENT BARNARD,
Kennet Square, Chester County, Pennsylvania.
April 10th, 1865.

The undersigned, who have enjoyed the pleasure of Graceanna Lewis's instructions on Ornithology deem it due to her to testify to the interest with which she succeeded in clothing the subject, and the clear and lucid method adopted in her Lectures. We greatly desire that she may find a wide field for her valuable and elevating instructions.

DILLWYN PARRISH,	E. H. CLEVELAND,
HELEN LONGSTRETH,	MARGARET J. BURLEIGH,
ANN PRESTON,	EDWARD PARRISH,
MARTHA KIMBER,	CALEB S. HALLOWELL,
EDWARD TOWNSEND,	E. M. DAVIS.
J. G. HUNT, M. D.,	

Philadelphia, 7th mo., 1865.

PRINTING MATERIAL FOR SALE.

TWO founts of Long Primer, of about 300 pounds each, one somewhat worn, the other quite good, and small founts of Minion and Small Pica, are for sale at this office, very low, for cash. Also, imposing stones, sticks, galleys, &c.—the usual material of a newspaper office.

$2000 A YEAR

MADE by any one with $15—Stencil Tools. No experience necessary. The Presidents, Cashiers and Treasurers of three Banks endorse the circular. Sent free with samples. Address the American Stencil Tool Works, Springfield Vermont.

The Most Wonderful Invention of the Age!

MORRILL'S

PETROLEUM STOVE.

One of the Most Brilliant Triumphs of American Genius.

IT COOKS, WASHES AND IRONS WITHOUT COAL, WOOD, OR GAS!

DOES the work easier, quicker, better, and with as little expense as any known method; and in its use, without a radiator, does not perceptibly affect the temperature of the room, while it may be used with a radiator to heat a room in a very short time. It is also perfectly free from soot, ashes and smoke, and makes no unpleasant smell.

Warerooms No. 36 Bromfield St., Boston, Mass.

Baking in these stoves, instead of the old imperfect process, is rendered a certainty; the bread comes out of the oven in thirty minutes, with a fair brown crust, neither burnt nor dough, for the *heat* can be instantaneously regulated. Potatoes and large joints of meat are "done to a turn."

Broiling;—Mr. Morrill, the inventor, to use his own language,

"CHALLENGES THE WORLD

to produce a method by which a steak can be broiled that will compare with the Patent Broiler," which always leaves the steak juicy, making even a tough one tender. *Not a drop of the fat or juice can possibly be wasted*, although it is broiled by the pure sweet blaze coming in actual contact with the meat. Ironing is accomplished quite as satisfactorily; the heat being communicated to the *interior* of the iron, there is no roughness or dirt to trouble, as in irons heated on the face; and in the summer the heat is confined to the *iron* alone, instead of sweltering the ironer. Washing-day is bereft of half its troubles,—the stove, light and portable, can be carried out-doors even, in good weather, and the steam and disagreeables of washing in the house avoided. In fact, every kind of household labor can be accomplished with more certainty and economy and with far less labor, than with coal or wood. To those confined to rooms requiring cooking done at home, these stoves must prove an invaluable blessing, the Petroleum costing less by one fourth than gas at two dollars per thousand feet, while the work is performed infinitely better. Young men out all day, wanting a quick heat on returning to their rooms,—families with children needing instant fire at night,—mechanics wanting early breakfasts, and hot biscuits in thirty minutes' time after lighting the fire,—housekeepers wanting heat in rooms without flues,—country houses,—in fact, all who value their time or money, or the health, comfort and convenience of themselves, wives and families, must eventually buy these stoves.

If you wish to save time, trouble and expense, buy the

MORRILL PETROLEUM STOVE.

READ THE FOLLOWING TESTIMONIALS.

[*From Messrs. E. D. & G. Draper, Manufacturers, Hopedale, Mass.*]

The undersigned have used Morrill's Patent "Aerevapor Stove" in our families, and have thoroughly tested its merits in cooking, and many other families of our acquaintance have it in use, and are well satisfied with it. We consider it a very valuable improvement, and cheerfully recommend it for general use, especially for a summer cook-stove. We think it has never been surpassed for broiling and baking meats and baking bread, and is the best stove for heating flats for ironing we ever saw.

E. D. & G. DRAPER.

Hopedale, Mass., May 6, 1865.

[*From Dr. J. Cheever, of Charlestown, Mass.*]

CHARLESTOWN, May 24, 1865.

MR. MOORE—Having fully tested the Aerevapor Cooking-Stove purchased of you two months since, and promised at that time to give you my opinion of it, after becoming fully satisfied with its merits or demerits, as the case may prove, I now, without hesitation, pronounce it *far superior to any cooking apparatus I have ever seen*. It not only proves to be all you recommended, but infinitely more, for not half of its advantages were named. In fact, it does not fail in any particular in being all that can be reasonably desired by any one after acquiring a little experience in its use.

JOSEPH CHEEVER, M. D.

[*From Mr. Edward Perkins, Proprietor of the large Eating Establishment, Nos. 37 and 39, Congress Street, Boston.*]

BOSTON, May 27, 1865.

TO THE AGENT OF THE MORRILL PETROLEUM STOVE CO.:

DEAR SIR—Having fully tested the new Petroleum Stove made by your Company, I am happy to bear testimony to its merits. I have them in use in my eating house, and find them superior to anything I know of for cooking purposes. It bakes biscuits and broils steaks splendidly, and indeed performs most admirably all that is claimed for it.

Wishing you every success, I remain yours, truly,

EDWARD PERKINS.

[*From Rev. T. C. Potter, Pastor of the Methodist E. Church, South Reading, Mass.*]

SOUTH READING, Mass., May 29, 1865.

TO THE PETROLEUM STOVE CO.:

Allow me a place upon your circular to make the following statement:—

For several weeks my family have been testing the *use* and *economy* of your "single burners," and find that for the common purposes of a family it excels everything else of the kind we have ever seen. In point of *economy*, it has cost us *less than one and one-fourth cents per hour*. My wife can do her ironing in less time than with a common stove, and avoid the necessity of being tortured with excessive heat. We have absented ourselves from the house for hours, and returned to find our beef or beans nicely baked, and ready for the table; and for baking all kinds of pastry, steaming, broiling, and toasting, I do not hesitate to say that I never have seen its equal. I intend to use it as a heater for my study, sparing it to the kitchen a short time when called for to prepare our meals. I have had no experience in the use of the "double burner," but should judge its utility must be in a corresponding ratio.

T. C. POTTER,
Pastor of M. E. Church.

[*From Rev. J. P. Cushman, Pastor of Orthodox Congregational Church, Brighton, Mass.*]

BRIGHTON, June 2, 1865.

O. F. MORRILL:

DEAR SIR—After a brief experience with your stove, it gives me pleasure to say that it gives great satisfaction.

For baking, it answers better than any stove or range with which we are acquainted; for broiling, it is perhaps unsurpassed, and the arrangements for ironing prove very convenient, while the escape from the heat given out by an ordinary fire must, in the summer, make your stove a great comfort in the kitchen.

Very truly yours, J. P. CUSHMAN.

BOSTON, August 10, 1865.

MESSRS. MORRILL & CO.:

GENTLEMEN—I am often asked how I like my "Petroleum Stove." I would here state that it works admirably, and like it much. I have been a housekeeper more than forty years, and have, during that time, used nearly half the same number of cooking apparatus, such as ranges, cook-stoves, &c., but have never found any thing equal to this for summer use, and see no reason why they may not be used equally as well in winter. We can get breakfast with it—viz: boil tea-kettle, make tea, and cook steak, while a person would be building a fire in a range. We have used ours since early in June, and have never found the least difficulty whatever. Certainly there is nothing that equals it in baking biscuit, bread, or pies.

Yours, truly, V. D. HEWES,
No. 3 Tremont Place.

MOUNT WASHINGTON, August 22, 1865.

SIR: I do certify that, with the thermometer at freezing point, (32 degrees,) I heated my office (ten feet by seven) with one of Morrill's Petroleum Stoves, in five minutes, to such a degree that I was obliged to open the office door. And I would recommend them as the best and cheapest, most portable and safest stove for warming offices or small rooms that ever came under my observation.

Yours, &c., S. A. BATTISON,
Telegraph Operator, Summit of Mt. Washington, N. H.

IMPROVEMENT IN Champooing and Hair Dyeing

"WITHOUT SMUTTING."

MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER

WOULD inform the public that she has removed from 223 Washington Street, to

No. 31 WINTER STREET,

where she will attend to all diseases of the Hair.

She is sure to cure in nine cases out of ten, as she has for many years made the hair her study, and is sure there are none to excel her in producing a new growth of hair.

Her Restorative differs from that of any one else, being made from the roots and herbs of the forest.

She Champoos with a bark which does not grow in this country, and which is highly beneficial to the hair before using the Restorative, and will prevent the hair from turning grey.

She also has another for restoring grey hair to its natural color in nearly all cases. She is not afraid to speak of her Restoratives in any part of the world, as they are used in every city in the country. They are also packed for her customers to take to Europe with them, enough to last two or three years, as they often say they can get nothing abroad like them.

MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER,
No. 31 Winter Street, Boston.

Farm for Sale Franklin, Mass.,

CONTAINING thirty-five acres of tillage and pasture, including eight acres of wood-land. Also, house, barn, and carriage-house, all in excellent order, built some fourteen years ago, with all the modern improvements, range, bath, &c. Also, apple, pear and peach trees, grapes, currants, etc. Further information can be obtained at the Anti-Slavery Office, No. 221 Washington street, Boston.